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— OF THE —

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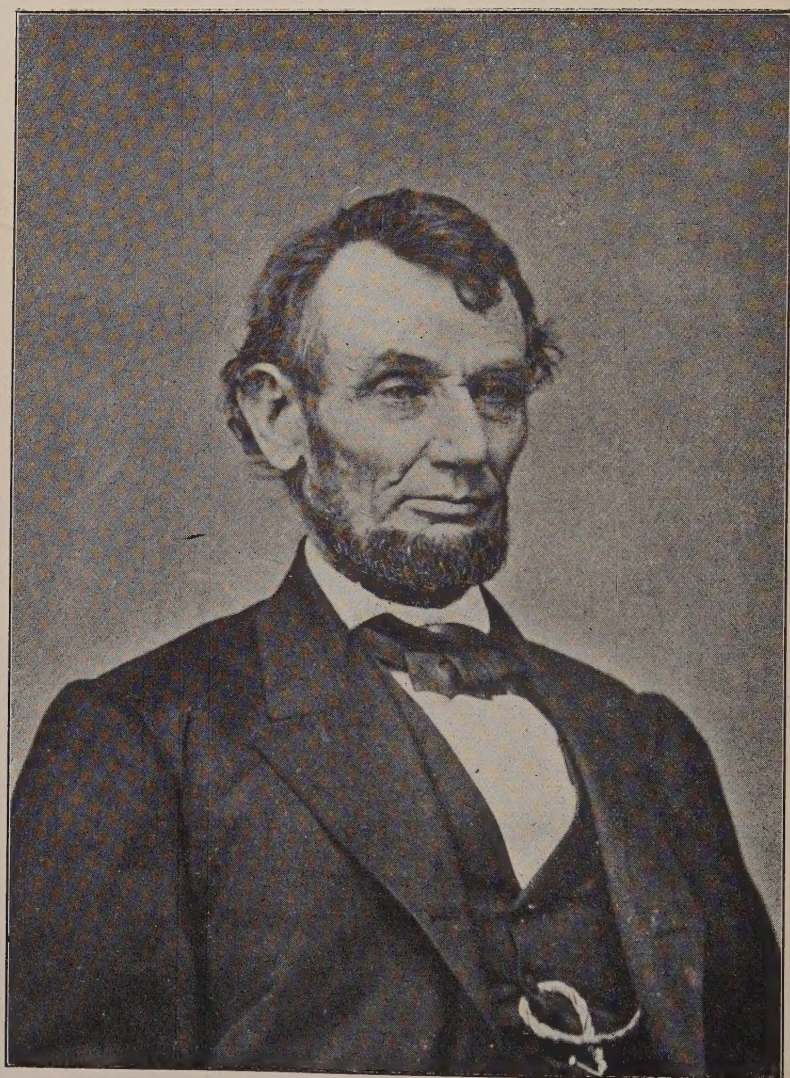
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ABRAHAM LINCOLN
The First Republican President of the United States

Republican Party, National Convention. 329
12th Philadelphia, 1900.

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Twelfth
Republican National Convention

HELD IN THE CITY OF
Philadelphia, June 19, 20 and 21
1900

RESULTING IN THE RENOMINATION OF
WILLIAM McKINLEY, of Ohio, for President
AND THE NOMINATION OF
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, of New York, for Vice-President

Reported by M. W. BLUMENBERG, Official Reporter



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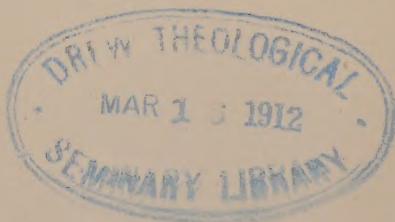
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The Official Proceedings.

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention is hereby directed to prepare and publish a full and complete report of the official proceedings of this Convention, under the direction of the National Committee, co-operating with the local committee.

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention be requested to republish the official proceedings of preceding Republican National Conventions now out of print, under the direction of the National Committee.

CHARLES W. JOHNSON,
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HON. WM. McKINLEY, of Ohio
Republican Candidate for President of the United States, 1900

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, the unanimous nominee of the Convention, was born at Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio, January 29, 1843, and has made that State his home during his entire life. He is of Scotch-Irish stock, his great-great-grandfather, James McKinley, having come from the north of Ireland to the United States in the first half of the eighteenth century and settled in York County, Pennsylvania, where, on May 16, 1755, was born to him a son, David McKinley, who was the great-grandfather of the present William McKinley. David McKinley evinced his loyalty to the country by serving as a private in the War of the Revolution, as shown by the records of the Pension Bureau and War Department. His son, James McKinley, was the father of William McKinley, Sr., the father of the present President and nominee of the Convention.

William McKinley, Sr., the father of President McKinley, removed from Pennsylvania to Ohio with his parents in childhood, and on reaching manhood became interested in iron manufacturing and the management of iron furnaces, in which he was engaged until the time of his retirement from business in 1876. As a consequence William, Jr., President, came to have a practical knowledge of one of the greatest manufacturing industries of the United States and of the important relation which those industries sustain to that greatest of all industries—agriculture.

Growing to manhood in the country town of Poland, Ohio, to which his father, on account of its superior educational facilities, had removed, William Jr. familiarized himself with many of the details of the daily occupation of those with whom he was brought constantly in contact. With the methods of the country storekeeper, the iron manufacturer, the farmer, the school teacher, the postmaster, the book-keeper and the business man of the village, he was thoroughly familiar and his progress as a student in the Academy of Poland was so rapid that it enabled him, at an early age, to become instructor in the district school, thus adding to his funds with which to pursue his studies in the Academy. Of his career at that time an old citizen of Poland, being asked for reminiscences of Mr. McKinley, said: "He was always studying, studying, studying all the time." Thus he became familiar with the details of the life of the masses of the people in whose welfare and prosperity he has shown such a marked interest during all of his public career.

The first great event in his life, which has been characterized by many striking incidents, occurred in June, 1861. The War of the Rebellion had begun; a throng of excited citizens gathered at the Sparrow House, the

hotel of the village, and an impassioned speaker, pointing to the stars and stripes which hung on the wall, said: "Citizens of Poland: Our country's flag has been shot at. It has been trailed in the dust by those who should defend it, dishonored by those who should cherish and revere it. And for what? That this free government may keep a race in the bondage of slavery. Who will be the first to defend it?" Among the first who stepped to the front to offer his life as a protest against this form of imperialism was a boy of seventeen, William McKinley, Jr., and he thus became a member of Company "E," 23d Ohio, which a few days later marched forth from the village of Poland, thence to Camp Chase, and thence to the war. Upon the rolls of this regiment were such names as W. S. Rosecrans, Stanley Matthews, Rutherford B. Hayes and many who subsequently attained national reputation; it participated in many battles—Carnifex Ferry, Clark's Hollow, Princeton, W. Va.; South Mountain, Md.; Antietam, Buffington's Island, Ohio, in Morgan's raid; Cloyd's Mountain, Va.; New River Bridge, Va.; Buffalo Gap, W. Va.; Lexington, W. Va.; Buchanan, W. Va.; Otter Creek, Va.; Buford's Gap, Va.; Winchester, Va.; Berryville, Va.; Opequan, Va.; Fisher's Hill, Va., and Cedar Creek, Va.

William McKinley, Jr., although enlisting as a private had, in less than one year, been promoted to Commissary Sergeant, and in the subsequent years to Second Lieutenant, First Lieutenant, Acting Assistant Adjutant General, and finally brevetted Major—his service continuing from June 11, 1861, to July 26, 1865. As Commissary Sergeant at Antietam he performed a feat, probably never before undertaken, of supplying the men of his regiment with hot coffee and meats during an active engagement, risking his life in so doing, but coming out unscathed and receiving, as a result, a promotion to the position of Second Lieutenant.

At Kernstown he again distinguished himself by carrying a message from General Hayes to a regiment posted at a distance, galloping for a long distance obliquely toward the advancing enemy in a direct line of their fire, but again escaping almost as by miracle, and in numbers of other engagements he showed bravery and won popularity with all classes of men with whom he was associated.

At the close of the war he returned to Ohio and decided to take up the study of law, and in preparing himself for this life work took a course in the Albany, New York, law school and was, in 1867, admitted to the bar at Canton, Ohio, which place he had selected as his future home and which has been his home since that date. In 1871 he married Miss Ida Saxton, daughter of James A. Saxton, a prominent citizen of Canton. Major McKinley had been less than three years in Canton when his ability as a lawyer led to his nomination and election as District Attorney of Stark County. In 1876 he announced himself as a candidate for Congress, carrying every township in his county but one, and was nominated on the first ballot and elected.

During fourteen years after this event he represented in Congress the District of which Stark County was a part, despite several efforts to so

change the lines of his district as to elect a democrat, and might have still continued to do so but for the fact that the democracy which controlled the Legislature of Ohio in 1890 deliberately "gerrymandered" the district to such an extent as absolutely to assure his defeat, although he made a gallant fight against overwhelming odds. The result of this defeat through these questionable methods, after a long and faithful career in Congress in which he had made a brilliant record as an advocate of "Protection" and had become a leader of his party in the House of Representatives, was his nomination for Governor of Ohio, to which position he was twice elected, and before he had finished his services as Governor he became a marked figure as a prospective candidate of the party for the Presidency.

Mr. McKinley entered upon Congressional life contemporaneously with the inauguration of Mr. Hayes as President, and he soon demonstrated his ability as a working member. He was an ardent advocate of the doctrine of a protective tariff, and a disciple of Hamilton and Clay. In 1888 at the Republican National Convention he had the opportunity of declaring his faith boldly as the author of the platform of that year. Harrison and a Republican Congress were triumphantly elected, and then followed the legislation known as the McKinley bill, prepared by the Committee of Ways and Means, of which he was Chairman. In 1891 McKinley was unanimously nominated by the Republicans for Governor of Ohio. He was elected over James E. Campbell by a plurality of 21,511 votes. In 1893 he was re-elected, defeating L. T. Neal by a plurality of 80,995 votes.

In his first campaign for the Governorship, McKinley spoke in eighty-four of the eighty-eight counties of the State, and in 1894 he made speeches throughout the country, stretching from Pennsylvania to Kansas and from Minnesota to Louisiana. It was an unparalleled campaign, like the famous days when Lincoln and Douglas were on the stump. His administrations as Governor were successful, and peculiarly so in the matter of adjusting labor difficulties that threatened serious strikes, which he prevented.

Twice he declined absolutely to permit a national convention to consider his name for the Presidency. In 1888 the Ohio delegation had been instructed to support Sherman in the Republican National Convention and did so. Ballot after ballot had been taken and no candidate had been able to secure a majority, and the cheers which marked Mr. McKinley's entrance to the hall at each session showed his popularity with the members of the convention. On the sixth ballot a delegate voted for William McKinley and was greeted by cheers again and again; the next State called cast seventeen votes for McKinley and again cheers broke forth, indicating that a drift was setting strongly towards him. Instantly Major McKinley who, as Chairman of the Ohio delegation occupied a place upon the floor of the convention, leaping upon a chair, interrupted the roll call with the following words:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:

"I am here as one of the chosen representatives of my State. I am here by resolution of the Republican State Convention, commanding me to cast my

vote for John Sherman for President, and to use every worthy endeavor to secure his nomination. I accepted the trust, because my heart and judgment were in accord with the letter and spirit and purpose of that resolution. It has pleased certain delegates to cast their votes for me for President. I am not insensible to the honor they would do me, but in the presence of the duty resting upon me, I can not remain silent with honor. I can not consistently with the wish of the State whose credentials I bear, and which has trusted me; I can not consistently with my own views of personal integrity, consent, or seem to consent, to permit my name to be used as a candidate before this convention. I would not respect myself if I could find it in my heart to do or permit to be done that which could even be ground for any one to suspect that I wavered in my loyalty to Ohio, or my devotion to the chief of her choice and the chief of mine. I do not request—I demand that no delegate who would not cast reflection upon me shall cast a ballot for me.”

The tide was turned and on the seventh ballot Benjamin Harrison was nominated.

Another incident on the same occasion, of which the public knows less, showed with equal clearness his firmness of purpose to prevent the nomination of himself on that occasion. Judge Little, of Ohio, in a statement written in 1895, recounted the incident of a visit by Major McKinley and himself to the headquarters of the New Jersey delegation at midnight before the closing day of the convention. Major McKinley had heard that the New Jersey delegation proposed voting for him on the following day and, on questioning the Chairman, received from him the reply that “it is a matter of our own concern; we shall act upon our own responsibility, being accountable only to the Republicans of New Jersey for what we do.” To this Major McKinley replied that he could not permit this in view of his duty to Senator Sherman, adding—“Rather than that I would suffer the loss of that good right arm! Yes, I would suffer death! To accept a nomination, if one were possible, under these circumstances, would inevitably lead to my defeat, AND IT OUGHT TO LEAD TO MY DEFEAT! The last clause was uttered slowly and with great emphasis. There was a silence of several moments, which was broken by the Chairman of the New Jersey delegation, who said, “Well, Major, if that is the way you view it, of course we will not vote for you.”

In 1892 he again favored the nomination of Harrison, and although acting as chairman of the Convention, protested against an attempt to cast the vote of Ohio solidly for himself, urging that, as a member of the Ohio delegation, he had a right to demand a poll of the State vote and did so demand, the result of the poll being that the vote of his alternate was cast for Benjamin Harrison, while all the other members of the delegation voted for him. On that ballot Harrison was nominated, but 182 votes were cast for William McKinley.

It was not until 1896 that he permitted his friends to announce him for the candidacy and present his name to a national convention, and long before the convention of that year met, it became apparent that he would be its

nominee, while in the year 1900 no other name was suggested for the nomination.

In the Convention of 1896, at St. Louis, McKinley was nominated for the Presidency on the first ballot, receiving 661½ votes to 84½ for Thomas B. Reed, of Maine; 61½ for M. S. Quay, of Pennsylvania; 58 for Levi P. Morton, of New York, and 35½ for W. B. Allison, of Iowa. Early in the campaign the Republicans attempted to wage the contest on the tariff issue, realizing that upon this the party was invincible. The Democrats and Republican Silverites, however, insisted upon the currency question as the principal issue, and in this they had their way. The result was a sweeping victory for the Republicans.

During the campaign of 1896, McKinley was in line with his party on the currency question, and as the result of the contest, he was elected, securing 271 electoral votes to 176 for Bryan. McKinley's popular vote was 7,107,304, while Bryan polled 6,292,423 on the Democratic ticket and 240,657 on the Populist ticket.

President McKinley's Administration has been an eventful one, marked chiefly by the war with Spain for the liberation of Cuba, which resulted in the loss to the mother country of Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines and Guam. Later the extraordinary events occurring in China, have compelled the administration to take prompt steps to rescue the ministers and to restore order, and this chapter of our diplomacy and military celerity has been greatly helpful to other civilized nations and to the world. Other features of McKinley's Administration have been the enactment of the Dingley protective tariff and the measure for the establishment of the gold standard.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, the nominee for Vice-President, is of Dutch and Scotch-Irish ancestry, and among them were many notable men. He himself is the thirty-fourth Governor of New York State. Klass Martenson Roosevelt, one of his ancestors, came to America from Holland in 1649. His son, Nicholas, was an Alderman of the Leislerian party, and, although a burgher of the "major right," he espoused the popular side in the contest of the colonies with the mother country. James I. Roosevelt, another ancestor, was a captain in the New York State Troop during the Revolution. His father, Theodore, married Martha, daughter of James and Martha Oswald Bulloch, of Roswell, Ga., both of whom were descendants from Revolutionary stock of prominence.

Thus the nominee of the Republican party for Vice-President comes from a stock that has been noted for generations for the instincts of freedom, the traditions of patriotism and uprightness of conduct. He was born in New York city, October 27, 1858. He was primarily educated at home under private teachers, and then entered Harvard. He was one of the editors of the undergraduate journal, *The Advocate*, and was prominent in athletics.

After graduation, in 1880, he spent a year in travel and study, and has since been a persistent student even under the pressure of official life, and at intervals an ardent traveler in both Europe and America. For many years he has been deeply interested in the purification of political and official life and the application of civil service rules to executive administration.

As an intimate associate and friend of George William Curtis, his scholastic and oratorical abilities brought him to the front as a prominent champion of civil service principles. He served as Assemblyman in the New York Legislature during the years 1882-83 and '84. Mr. Roosevelt introduced the first civil service bill in the Legislature, and it was passed in 1883, almost simultaneously with the passage of a similar measure in the National Congress at Washington. He was Chairman of the New York delegation to the National Republican Convention in 1884.

Mr. Roosevelt was nominated as the independent candidate for Mayor of New York city in 1886, and, although endorsed by the Republican party, was defeated at the election. In May, 1889, President Harrison appointed him Civil Service Commissioner, and he served as President of the Board until May, 1895. During his incumbency he was untiring in his endeavors to apply the civil service principles of merit and capacity to all executive departments, with the aggregate result that instead of 14,000 employees, as



HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, of New York
Republican Candidate for Vice-President of the United States, 1900

when he began, 40,000 filled their positions under its rules, largely through the permissive clause of the Civil Service act. This position of Mr. Roosevelt as President of the Civil Service Commission made his name familiar in all parts of the country, and his reputation for rigid honesty of purpose and fearlessness of character was firmly established.

Legislative investigation having disclosed the conditions which existed throughout the New York city police, Mr. Roosevelt was naturally looked upon as the man who could thoroughly purge the city and restore the morale of the service. The appointment of Police Commissioner was, therefore, offered him in May, 1895, and he promptly resigned his position as Civil Service Commissioner to accept this post. He immediately began the reorganization of the police system with characteristic vigor. The prominent features of his administration were impartial enforcement of the laws and ordinances, and insistence on rigid honesty and fearlessness in the discharge of the duties of the police, and a rigorous application of civil service principles in appointments to and promotions on the force.

Such drastic changes from the previous practice in the department raised violent opposition among many people, which only served to incline Roosevelt's purpose more strongly towards the enforcement of the law. Heretofore it had been considered that an effectual and impartial enforcement of the excise law was a moral and a physical impossibility. In a short time he proved the contrary.

Shortly before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War Roosevelt was tendered the office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy by President McKinley. He accepted promptly, and entered on his new duties with his usual energy and enthusiasm. He worked night and day, and to him as much as to any other man, probably, was due the splendid condition of the United States navy when the war with Spain began.

He had only been in office a short time when he asked for an appropriation of \$800,000 for "practical target" shooting in the navy, and a few months later requested another appropriation of \$500,000 for the same purpose. This was considered extravagant, and he was asked what became of the ammunition which was purchased with the \$800,000. He coolly replied that it was all shot away, and he thought it might be that he would do the same with that bought with the \$500,000 if it were given him. The amount was appropriated, and the subsequent results at Manila and Santiago justified Roosevelt's action, and completely silenced the talk of extravagance.

When the war with Spain broke out, in 1898, Roosevelt resigned his position as Assistant Secretary of the Navy to enter the army. He began the formation of a volunteer cavalry regiment. The recruits for this were chiefly Western cowboys and hunters, chosen for their courage and endurance, and were called the Rough Riders. But they were also joined by men from every part of the country, who represented many nationalities and every social grade. He was moved to organize this particular form of regiment from the fact that years before while in the West on his hunting expeditions he formed the acquaintance of these brave western men, to

whom he became speedily endeared on account of his devotion to sport, his skill with the rifle, his fine horsemanship and his thoroughly democratic manners.

He had been a member of the Eighth Regiment, New York National Guards, from 1884 until 1888, and for a time had served as Captain, thus gaining experience in military matters. The Rough Riders was commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood, of the regular army, and a close personal friend of Roosevelt. The latter was made Lieutenant Colonel, and, on June 15, 1898, a part of the troops embarked from Tampa with the advance guard of Shafter's invading army.

The Rough Riders took part in all the engagements preceding the fall of Santiago, and, at the battle of San Juan, on July 1, Colonel Roosevelt distinguished himself by leading the desperate charge of the Ninth Regiment and the Rough Riders up San Juan Hill. Known before for his energy, sterling honesty and capability, and deeply respected therefor, Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt, by this magnificent charge against the Spanish forces, became one of the idolized heroes of the country. This was strengthened by his subsequent acts in Cuba. Every hardship experienced by the privates was shared by him. At the close of the Spanish war, Roosevelt was commissioned Colonel on July 11.

Colonel Roosevelt was nominated as Governor of New York State on September 27, 1898. His Democratic opponent was Judge Augustus Van Wyck. Colonel Roosevelt entered into the campaign with characteristic enthusiasm, and visited nearly every part of the State. He drew to his support the majority of the Independent Republicans and many of the Democrats, and carried New York State by a plurality of 18,079. He brought to the new position the same force and personality that he had displayed in everything he had previously undertaken. He consulted all factions and followed what seemed to him to be the best course for the State. He maintained his reputation for independence, yet held the respect of the party managers.

Governor Roosevelt might have readily lapsed into habits of indolence, but, coming of a race whose mental and physical endurance is seemingly inexhaustible, he is incessantly industrious. He owns a ranch on the Little Missouri river, in North Dakota, and has a personal acquaintance with life on the plains and in the wilderness. As a daring hunter of big game he is a conspicuous figure among American sportsmen, and the trophies of the chase that adorn his home at Sagamore Hill, near Oyster Bay, L. I., testify to the skill with which he handles a rifle. He organized the Boone and Crockett Club, and for a long time was its President.

He has described his various experiences most entertainingly in "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman," "The Wilderness Hunter" and "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail." His first work was published a year after he left college, and was entitled "The Naval War of 1812." As a biographer he has been highly praised for his "Life of Thomas H. Benton" and "Life of Gouverneur Morris" in the American Statesman Series. He has also pub-

lished a "History of the City of New York," "Essays on Practical Politics," "American Political Ideals," and has collaborated with Captain Mahan in writing the "Imperial History of the British Navy." He is also joint author with Henry Cabot Lodge of "Hero Tales from American History."

Governor Roosevelt is also known as a successful and a captivating lecturer. He is a member of the Reformed (Dutch) Church, with which his family has been connected for generations. He holds membership in many clubs, both social and political. He is a trustee of the American Museum of Natural History in New York and is a member of the State Charities Aid Association. Columbia University awarded him the degree of LL. D. in 1899.

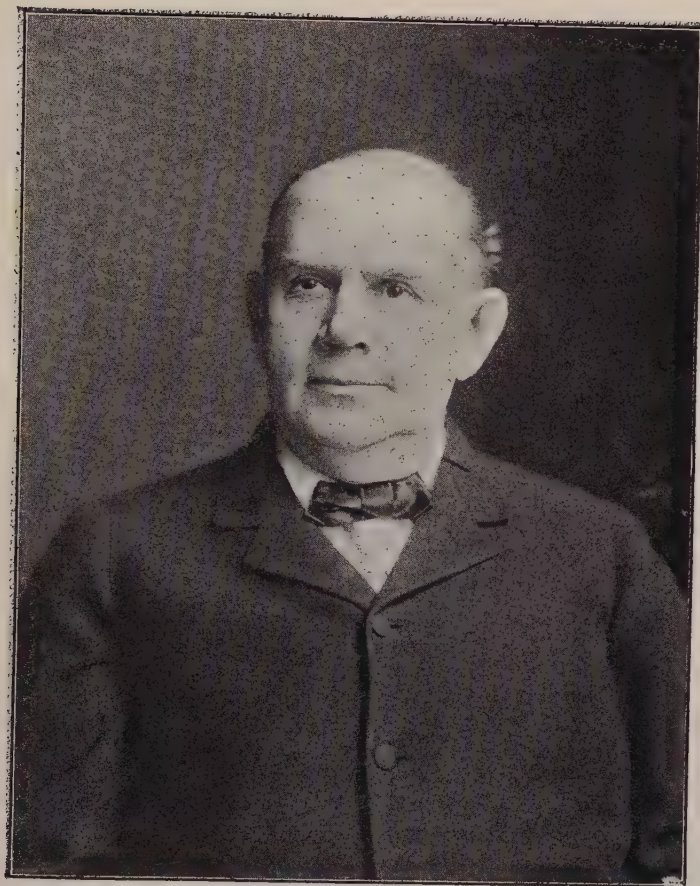
He was married when a very young man to Alice Lee, of Boston, who died two years later, leaving a daughter. He was married again in 1886 to Edith Kermit Carow, of New York. They have six children, four of whom are sons.

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NOTE. The above Committee is auxiliary to the NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

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OF THE

Republican Congressional Committee, 1900

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Rhode Island.....	MELVILLE BULL.....	Middletown
South Dakota.....	ROBERT J. GAMBLE.....	Yankton
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Virginia.....	R. A. WISE.....	Williamsburg
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West Virginia.....	BLACKBURN B. DOVENER.....	Wheeling
Wisconsin.....	JOSEPH W. BABCOCK.....	Necedah
Wyoming.....	FRANK W. MONDELL.....	Newcastle

TERRITORIES

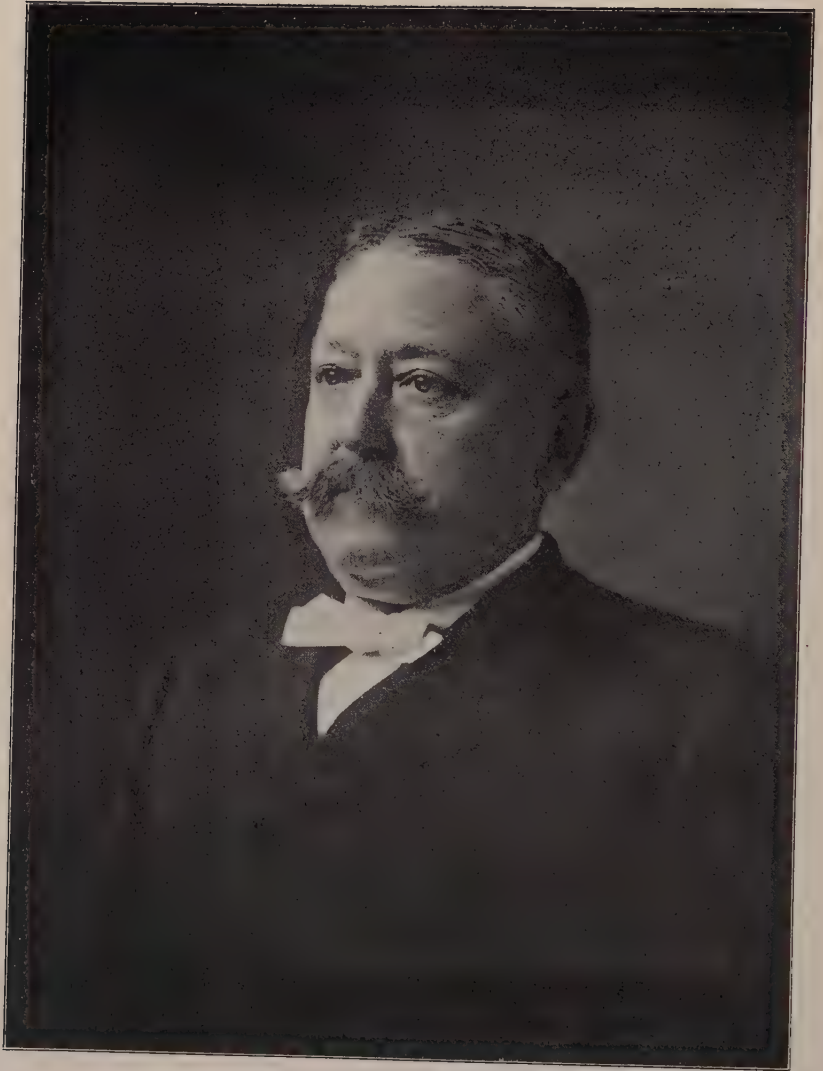
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New Mexico.....	PEDRO PEREA.....	Bernalillo

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Michigan.....	GERRIT J. DIEKEMA.....	Detroit
Minnesota	{ W. C. MASTERMAN..... } { TAMS BIXBY, Ex. Com. }	{ Endicott Building, St. Paul }
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Montana	JOS. P. WOOLMAN.....	Helena
Nebraska	H. O. LINDSAY.....	Omaha
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New Jersey.....	FRANKLIN T. MURPHY.....	143 Chestnut Street, Newark
New York.....	BENJ. B. ODELL, JR.....	Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York City
North Carolina.....	A. E. HOLTON.....	Winston
North Dakota.....	W. H. ROBINSON.....	Mayville
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New Mexico.....	JOHN S. CLARK.....	Las Vegas
Oklahoma	WM. GRIMES.....	Guthrie



HON. JOSEPH H. MANLEY, of Maine,
Chairman of Sub-Committee on Arrangements for National Convention of 1900

THE LOCAL COMMITTEES

AND THEIR WORK

BY LEON M. CONWELL, OF PHILADELPHIA

In the efforts to secure the Republican National Convention of 1900 for their city, in the preparation and arrangements for that event and in providing for the comfort and entertainment of the delegates, the citizens of Philadelphia acted as one harmonious unit, all appreciating the honor of having the convention that was to renominate President McKinley and eager to do all in their power to make it a success. The movement progressed continuously from the day of its inception, and when the convention was over all identified with it agreed that the convention had been the best arranged and most successfully executed in the history of the party.

The first public suggestion that Philadelphia should strive to secure the National Convention appeared in the leading editorial of "The Press" on October 1, 1899. The suggestion was general in its nature, but it was taken up by the Young Republican Club and soon resolved itself into a definite attempt to bring the Republican Convention of 1900 to Philadelphia. The daily papers took up the movement and on November 17th in response to invitations issued by the Young Republicans, an enthusiastic meeting was held in their clubhouse. Representatives were present from the Union League, the Philadelphia Bourse, Manufacturers' Club, Board of Trade, National Association of Manufacturers, Hardware Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Association, Oil Trade Association, Commercial Exchange, Maritime Exchange, Grocers' and Importers' Exchange, Lumbermen's Exchange, Drug Exchange, Paint Club, Chamber of Commerce, Master Builders' Exchange, Philadelphia Board of Marine Underwriters, Merchants' and Salesmens' Association, Board of City Passenger Railways, Workingmens' Protective Tariff League, Carpenters' Company, Bricklayers' Company, Business Mens' League, the Brewers' Association, the various railroad companies, heads of departments and bureaus of the city government, banking interests, Republican City Committee, Republican Ward Executive Committees and Republican clubs.

Horace D. Gaw, president of the Young Republicans, pointed out the strength of the city's claim to the Convention, since it was the strongest Republican city in the strongest Republican State of the Union. The peculiar advantages of the city for handling crowds and housing large assemblies were pointed out by others. All the speakers were hearty in their advocacy of the plan and the enthusiasm of their auditors was great. One week later, at the Young Republicans' Club, the Citizens' National Republican Convention Association was formed with the avowed object of bending every energy to bringing that gathering to Philadelphia. Thomas Martindale was elected chairman and when the organization was perfected, Henry Burk was elected president; Thomas Martindale first vice-president; Mahlon N. Kline second vice-president; Porter F. Cope secretary, and Richard H. Rushton, treasurer. Senator Penrose, National Committeeman Quay and the entire Pennsylvania delegation in Congress pledged their heartiest support. Personal appeals were sent to each member of the National Republican Committee and after a few days of energetic work it was tacitly agreed that if the Convention came east it would come to Philadelphia. Committees were appointed by President Burk and it was decided that the vast auditorium which had been built for the National Export Exposition would, with slight alterations, be an ideal place for the Convention. Director General Wilson of the Exposition and Director of the Philadelphia Museums, entered gladly into the project and the use of the building was easily secured. It was decided to pledge \$100,000 to the National Committee if the Convention was held in Philadelphia.

On December 11th, 1899, the sub-committee of the Citizens' Executive Committee went to Washington to work in the interest of Philadelphia before the meeting of the National Committee, which was to take place four days later. The sub-committee included W. S. P. Shields, chairman; Henry Brooks, Penrose A. McClain, Major A. T. Ennis, J. F. McLaughlin, Louis H. Smith and Robert McWade. Senator Penrose accompanied them on a visit to President McKinley, during which Mr. Shields explained the purpose of the Committee's visit to Washington. The President naturally declined to express any preference as to where the Republican Convention should be held, but the visitors were much encouraged by his evident kindly feeling for Philadelphia.

Delegations seeking the convention for other cities were soon on the ground, and the rivalry was intense. Philadelphia presented her claims in a business-like way and left no stone unturned which could further her object. The experience of the city with the National Export Exposition, the Peace Jubilee and the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic was practical proof of her ability to provide for big occasions and to handle large crowds without inconvenience or discomfort.

On December 14th, Philadelphia's committee of one hundred representative citizens, headed by Mayor Samuel H. Ashbridge, left in a special train for Washington. The committee met at the Young Republican Club, where each one was given a badge, and the march begun to Broad Street

Station. J. Hampton Moore, the Mayor's secretary, accompanied the party and the members of the Committee included:

Mahlon N. Kline, Edward T. Davis, John V. Cresson, Edwin S. Cramp, Richard H. Rushton, J. Martin Rommel, Richard B. Williams, George G. Clark, M. D., J. F. Hartman, B. F. Jarrett, J. H. Scott, Richard G. Oellers, Charles H. Sayre, J. G. Ramsdell, George B. McClellan, W. E. McCall, Jr., E. St. Elmo Lewis, S. K. Shedaker, William C. Kramer, P. C. B. O'Donovan, Daniel J. Shern, Frank Roma, Colonel William J. Bruehl, Alexander Cowan, Colonel J. J. Hinds, Joseph J. Martin, J. William Morgan, Horace Pettit, Captain R. B. Schellinger, Dr. H. Bullen, William Matthews, W. H. Redheffer, G. Wallace Simpson, Emory P. Day, Colonel O. C. Bosbyshell, Joseph A. Eslen, John Lunkenheimer, Jr., William G. Carroll, Albert Webster, Walter Graham, John R. McPetridge, Edward E. Paxson, Frank Leake, Dr. William H. Bricker, John McClintock, John W. Woodside, William B. Cunningham, Morris Newburger, George E. Vickers, M. J. O'Callaghan, David Lavis, Lincoln Acker.

Thomas Martindale, Russell Duane, Dr. Wilmer R. Batt, James Henry, S. Abrahams, Colonel John A. Weidersheim, Horace D. Gaw, Murray Gibson, I. Stroud Hinkson, Colonel Wendell P. Bowman, B. F. Oblinger, John R. Wiggins, William C. Gross, Charles N. Mann, Andrew V. Brown, W. A. Fredericks, R. H. Innes, Joseph McGlathery, Robert B. Kelly, W. H. Cullen, C. C. A. Baldi, William H. Brooks, Howard B. French, John A. Leslie, Evan Morris, John A. O'Rourke, Charles M. Swain, Thomas M. Updyke, Dr. William P. Wilson, Colonel John A. Morris, Edwin S. Stuart, James B. Craighead, C. S. Warfield, Porter F. Cope, John H. Klang, Elmer S. Little, William R. Knight, Jr., H. D. Beaston. Cyrus S. Detre, Charles L. Flanigan, George W. Sunderland, George Demming, Dr. C. S. Page, James Stewart, Matthias Seddinger, Theodore C. Search, Benjamin P. Obdyke, John G. Croxton, Henry W. Lambert, Byron E. Wrigley, A. S. Hottel, George B. Wilson, Jr., Thomas R. Sewell, Dr. James M. Magee, John S. Stewart, W. C. Felton, C. H. Johnson, George W. Ledlie, George V. Kerst, W. H. Mohler, Harry R. Wildey, John Alexander, Benjamin L. Berry, Robert vonMoschzisker, and W. H. Sayen.

Councils appointed a committee of ten from each chamber to co-operate with the Citizens' Committee.

The claims of Philadelphia were presented at the meeting of the National Committee on December 15th, by Mayor Ashbridge, Congressmen Bingham and Adams, and Messrs. Shields and Burk of the Citizens' Committee. On the first ballot the vote stood: Philadelphia, 13; Chicago, 20; St. Louis, 9; New York, 7. On the next ballot Philadelphia received 24 votes, Chicago, 23, and St. Louis, 1. The choice was made on the third ballot, when Philadelphia received 25 votes to 24 for Chicago. The choice was then made unanimous and the delegations from rival cities cheerfully joined in the cheers for Philadelphia and the Republican Convention of

1900. When the committee returned to Philadelphia that night there was a great demonstration, including a parade, and the work of making good the promises and perfecting the details of the coming Convention was begun in earnest. The Committee on Finance began the labors of securing the \$100,000. The Building Committee arranged for alterations to the Exposition Auditorium.

When National Committeemen Payne of Wisconsin, Manley of Maine, and Fessenden of Connecticut, arrived on December 17th, they found everything running smoothly. After inspecting the buildings Mr. Payne said: "We expect great things of your city and I feel sure we will not be disappointed." That they were not disappointed is now a matter of Republican history.

As the first of the year approached the sentiment grew that as the reputation of Philadelphia was at stake in providing for the Convention, a committee should be formed with more authority and responsibility than could be assumed by the Citizens' Convention Committee. There were a number of resignations from the Committee and on January 31st over sixty representative men of Philadelphia met with Mayor Ashbridge in his office to discuss the best plan of raising the fund of \$100,000 promised to the National Committee. The Mayor was elected chairman, and on February 9th the Citizens' National Republican Convention Association was merged with the Mayor's Committee and the Mayor was named as the responsible head of the organization. His secretary, J. Hampton Moore, as President of the State League of Republican Clubs, interested himself heartily in the movement, and at a meeting in the Union Republican Club, representatives from forty-eight clubs met to arrange for the care and entertainment of visiting clubs and delegates with the object in view of maintaining Philadelphia's reputation for hospitality.

The make-up of the Philadelphia Citizens' National Republican Convention Committee as finally organized and by which the plans for the Convention were pushed to completion is as follows:

MAYOR SAMUEL H. ASHBRIDGE,
Chairman.

CHARLES H. CRAMP,
Vice-Chairman.

JAMES POLLOCK, Chairman Finance Committee.

RICHARD H. RUSHTON,
Treasurer.

J. HAMPTON MOORE,
General Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

J. J. SEEDS, Chairman.

SAMUEL H. ASHBRIDGE,
CHARLES C. ADAMS,
ALEXANDER BALFOUR,
C. W. BERGNER,
J. H. BROMLEY,
RALPH BLUM,
HENRY BURK,

JOHN G. CARRUTH,
HENRY CLAY,
CHARLES H. CRAMP,
GEORGE V. CRESSON,
WILLIAM J. COLLINS,
EDWARD T. DAVIS,
SAMUEL DISSTON,



HON. SAMUEL H. ASHBRIDGE
Mayor of Philadelphia

MURRELL DOBBINS,
JOHN FIELD,
H. B. FRENCH,
HENRY A. FRY,
WILLIAM B. GILL,
JOSEPH R. GRUNDY,
J. OGDEN HOFFMAN,
JAMES HENRY,
J. S. W. HOLTON,
E. CLARENCE HOWARD,
MAHLON N. KLINE,
WILLIAM L. MARTIN,
WILLIAM L. McLEAN,
PENROSE A. McCLAIN,
JOHN MUNDELL,
WILLIAM J. MILLIGAN,
J. HAMPTON MOORE,
GEORGE F. PAYNE,
JAMES POLLOCK,
WILLIAM T. B. ROBERTS,
RICHARD H. RUSHTON,
W. S. P. SHIELDS,
W. H. STAAKE,
ISAAC SCHLICHTER,

RICHARD G. OELLERS,
CHARLES F. WARWICK,
CHARLES J. WEBB,
MAHLON D. YOUNG,

Committee on Badges:

HENRY CLAY, Chairman.
RICHARD G. OELLERS,
HENRY BURK.

Committee on Decorations:

J. S. W. HOLTON, Chairman.
JOHN G. CARRUTH,
HOWARD B. FRENCH,
JOSEPH R. GRUNDY,
MAHLON N. KLINE.

Committee on Accommodations:

W. S. P. SHIELDS, Chairman.
EDWARD T. DAVIS,
WILLIAM J. COLLINS,
W. T. B. ROBERTS,
WILLIAM L. MARTIN.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

CHARLES F. WARWICK, Chairman.

ADAMS, CHARLES C.,
ADAMS, ROBERT, JR.,
ANDERSON, H. E.,
ARTMAN, E. A.,
ANDERS, J. M.,
ALLISON, THOMAS W.,
BROOKS, HENRY,
BAUGH, DANIEL,
BLUM, RALPH,
BALFOUR, ALEXANDER,
BURK, HENRY,
BROMLEY, JOHN H.,
BLASIUS, OSCAR,
BODINE, SAMUEL,
BIGELOW, A. C.,
BUSCH, MEIERS,
BALDI, C. C. A.,
BERGNER, CHAS. WM.,
BALTZ, ALBERT,
BARNEY, CHARLES D.,
BUCK, DANIEL N.,
BURPEE, W. ATLEE,
BERWIND, M. A.,
BALLARD, ELLIS AMES,
BROMLEY, JOSEPH H.,
BAILEY, JOHN N.,
BETZ, J. FRED.,
BINGHAM, HENRY H.,
BLANKENBURG, RUDOLPH,

BAILEY, CHARLES W.,
BRADENBURG, CHARLES A.,
BRINGHURST, R. R.,
BROOKS, DR. EDWARD,
BROWN, JOSEPH H.,
BROWN, EVERETT B.,
BOK, EDWARD W.,
BUNN, WILLIAM M.,
BAILEY, JOHN W.,
BEATH, ROBERT B.,
CONVERSE, JOHN H.,
CLAY, HENRY,
CUMING, JOHN K.,
CASSATT, A. J.,
CRESSON, GEORGE V.,
CARRUTH, JOHN G.,
CALDWELL J. E.,
CRAMP CHARLES H.,
CARSON HAMPTON L.,
CRAMP, EDWIN S.,
CLOTHIER, CLARKSON,
CROW, ALEXANDER, JR.,
CLEMENT, SAMUEL M.,
CARPENTER, WILLIAM H.,
COLLINS, WILLIAM J.,
COLESBERRY, ALEXANDER P.,
CUNNINGHAM, THOMAS,
CORBIN, J. ROSS,
COPE, PORTER F.,

COOK, JOEL G.,
CROXTON, JOHN G.,
CADWALLADER, A. J.,
CARSTAIRS, J. HAZELTINE,
CAMPION, RICHARD,
DETRE, CYRUS S.,
DISSTON, SAMUEL,
DEVLIN, THOMAS,
DODGE, JAMES M.,
DAVIS, EDWARD T.,
DOBSON, JOHN,
DOBSON, JAMES,
DOBBINS, MURRELL,
DAVIS, ROBERT S.,
DUNLAP, HARRY C.,
DUNLAP, JOHN,
DICK, EVANS R.,
DISSTON, WILLIAM,
DUGAN, THOMAS,
DOAK, JAMES, JR.,
DANDO, THOMAS S.,
DARLINGTON, JOSEPH G.,
DOLAN, THOMAS,
DAVIS, G. HARRY,
ELVERSON, JAMES, JR.,
ELVERSON, JAMES,
ELLISON, WILLIAM H.,
ELLIOTT, GEORGE J.,
ENNIS, A. J.,
ENGLISH, ABRAHAM L.,
EMSLEY, WILLIAM,
EVERLY, ADAM,
FITZGERALD, HARRINGTON,
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FOERDERER, ROBERT H.,
FITLER, E. H., JR.,
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FORD, WILLIAM,
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GILL, WILLIAM F.,
GRATZ, SIMON,
GRUNDY, JOSEPH R.,
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GRAY, HENRY W.,
GILLINGHAM, CHARLES A.,
GREENE, STEPHEN,
GIMBEL, ELLIS A.,
GOLDNER, HENRY,

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GROVE, GEORGE W.,
GRADY, JOHN G.,
GRAY, JOHN GORDON,
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HARRIS, FRANKLIN M.,
HALLAHAN, P. T.,
HENSEL, GEORGE S.,
HARRISON, THOMAS S.,
HIRES, CHARLES E.,
HOUSTON, SAMUEL F.,
HOOD, JAMES,
HAUCK, PHILIP,
HOFFMAN, J. OGDEN,
HARRIS, JOSEPH S.,
HARDING, CHARLES H.,
HARTMAN, WENCEL,
HENDERSON, J. D. G.,
HUHN, GEORGE A.,
HULSHIZER, J. D.,
HOLTON, J. S. W.,
HENRY, CHARLES W.,
HENRY, JAMES,
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HOFFMAN, J. W.,
HETHERINGTON, A. G.,
HADDOCK, WILLIAM C.,
HACKETT, HORATIO B.,
HUNT, D. W.,
HESTON, HARRY B.,
HENRY, J. BAYARD,
HUEY, WILLIAM G.,
HIBBS, JAMES M.,
HAYES, JAMES A.,
HANCE, EDWARD N.,
HOWARD, CLARENCE E.,
IVINS, WILLIAM,
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JERMON, J. G.,
JAGODE, PHILIP,
KLINE, MAHLON N.,
KESS, JOSEPH S.,
KINDRED, CHARLES F.,
KINSEY, JOHN L.,
KENDRICK, JOHN R.,
KETTERLINUS, J. L.,
KILBURN, JOHN H.,
LEAKE, FRANK,
LIT, SAMUEL D.,
LAMBERT, WILLIAM H.,
LAUMAN, FLOYD,
LANE, DAVID H.,
LESLEY, ROBERT W.,
LEWIS, JOHN T.,
MATHIEU, J. P.,

MAYER, GUSTAV,
 MANN, CHARLES H.,
 MITCHELL, S. MURRAY,
 MUNDELL, JOHN,
 MARTINDALE, THOMAS,
 MARTIN, DAVID,
 MARTIN, D. B.,
 MALTBY, L. U.,
 MILLIGAN, WILLIAM J.,
 MORSE, EDWIN F.,
 MALONE, EDWIN V.,
 MORRELL, EDWARD de V.,
 MULHOLLAND, ST. CLAIR A.,
 MARTIN, WILLIAM L.,
 MARKS, FERDINAND,
 MACK, JOHN M.,
 MILES, JAMES L.,
 MALPASS, EDWARD M.,
 MOYER, WILLIAM, JR.,
 McBRIDE, THOMAS C.,
 McCAHAN, WILLIAM J.,
 McCALL, JOSEPH B.,
 McCLAIN, PENROSE A.,
 McCLURE, ALEXANDER K.,
 McCLOSKEY, JOHN J.,
 McCORMICK, LAWRENCE,
 McCORMICK, W. M.,
 McCURDY, GEORGE,
 MacILWAINE, E. A.,
 McLAUGHLIN, JAMES F.,
 McLEAN, WILLIAM L.,
 McMAHON, DAVID,
 McMICHAEL, CLAYTON,
 McMICHAEL, MORTON,
 McMULLEN, DAVID, JR.,
 McNICHOL, JAMES P.,
 NACHOD, JULIUS E.,
 NEEDHAM, JAMES F.,
 NORTON, CHARLES B.,
 O'ROURKE, MICHAEL,
 OBLINGER, BENJAMIN F.,
 OELLERS, RICHARD G.,
 OTT, WILLIAM H.,
 PARSONS, JOHN B.,
 PORTER, CHARLES A.,
 POWERS, THOMAS H.,
 PASSMORE, LINCOLN K.,
 PATTON, WILLIAM A.,
 POTH, F. A.,
 PLUMB, FAYETTE R.,
 PATTON, EDWARD W.,
 POTTER, THOMAS, JR.,
 PHILLER, GEORGE,
 PAYNE, GEORGE F.,
 PERNA, JOSEPH,
 POLLOCK, JAMES,

PIERIE, GEORGE G.,
 PETTIT, HORACE,
 PAGE, HARLAN,
 PRATT, D. T.,
 PENROSE, BOIES,
 PATTERSON, GEORGE STUART,
 PEOPLES, DAVID,
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 ROSENGARTEN, J. G.,
 ROTHERMEL, P. F., JR.,
 RICHARDSON, THOMAS DEQ.,
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 RICE, THOMAS B.,
 RIGHTER, FREDERICK C.,
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 RIEBENACK, MAX,
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 REYBURN, W. S.,
 RONEY, WILLIAM J.,
 RYAN, WALTER,
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 SWETT, GEORGE W.,
 SNELLENBURG, NATHAN,
 SCHOEN, CHARLES T.,
 SWAIN, CHARLES N.,
 SAYEN, WILLIAM HENRY,
 SHOCH, HENRY R.,
 SULLIVAN, JAMES F.,
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 SMITH, EDWARD I.,
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 SMITH, ROBERT,
 SMITH, WINTHROP,
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 SOULAS, CHARLES W.,
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 SCHWAAB, C. M.,
 SCHLICHTER, ISAAC,
 SEEDS, JACOB J.,
 SEWELL, WILLIAM J.,
 SUPPLEE, J. WESLEY,
 STAFFORD, JOHN,
 SHARP, SAMUEL S.,
 STEVENS, JOHN S.,
 SHAFTO, T. MILTON,
 SHOEMAKER, HARRY B.,
 SMEDLEY, WILLIAM,
 SHIELDS, W. S. P.,
 SHIELDS, A. S. L.,
 STUART, EDWIN S.,
 STRAWBRIDGE, JUSTUS C.,

SNOWDEN, A. LOUDON,
 SOLIS, ISAAC H.,
 SEARCH, THEODORE C.,
 STEWART, HENRY C.,
 SMEDLEY, W. HENRY,
 SCOTT, JAMES F.,
 SMYTH, MARIOTT C.,
 SCATTERGOOD, HENRY W.,
 SELIG, ELY K.,
 TOWNSEND, HENRY L.,
 TRAINER, HENRY J.,
 THOMAS, C. WESLEY,
 TILDEN, WILLIAM T.,
 TRAINER, EDWARD,
 TARR, H. G. R.,
 VOORHEES, THEODORE E.,
 VARE, GEORGE A.,
 VIRDIN, JOHN,
 VOORHEES, CHARLES E.,
 VAN NEESEN, T. W.,
 VAN RENNSELAER, ALEX.,
 VON MOSCHZISKER, ROBERT,
 VREEMAN, SAMUEL B.,
 WANAMAKER, THOMAS B.,
 WELLS, CALVIN,
 WEBB, CHARLES J.,

WARWICK, CHARLES F.,
 WEGER, FRANK L.,
 WALTON, JOHN M.,
 WOLF, CLARENCE,
 WOLSTENHOLME, THOMAS,
 WOOD, WILLIAM,
 WYETH, F. H.,
 WATTS, DAVID H.,
 WAHN, SAMUEL W.,
 WANAMAKER, WILLIAM H.,
 WILSON, JAMES,
 WILSON, WILLIAM P.,
 WOODSIDE, JOHN W.,
 WOODWARD, GEORGE,
 WIGGINS, JOHN R.,
 WOOD, MORRISON D.,
 WINDRIM, JOHN T.,
 WALTON, HENRY F.,
 WARBURTON, BARCLAY H.,
 WAGNER, LOUIS,
 WIEDERSHEIM, JOHN A.,
 WEYGANDT, JULIUS S.,
 WEAVER, GEORGE W.,
 YOUNG, JAMES R.,
 YOUNG, MAHLON D.,

Of the Allied Republican Clubs of Philadelphia and vicinity, under whose auspices the convention parade was held, and which were active in the entertainment of guests, the following were the officers:

President, J. HAMPTON MOORE.
 Vice-President, THOMAS J. POWERS,
 Secretary, JOHN KELLY.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

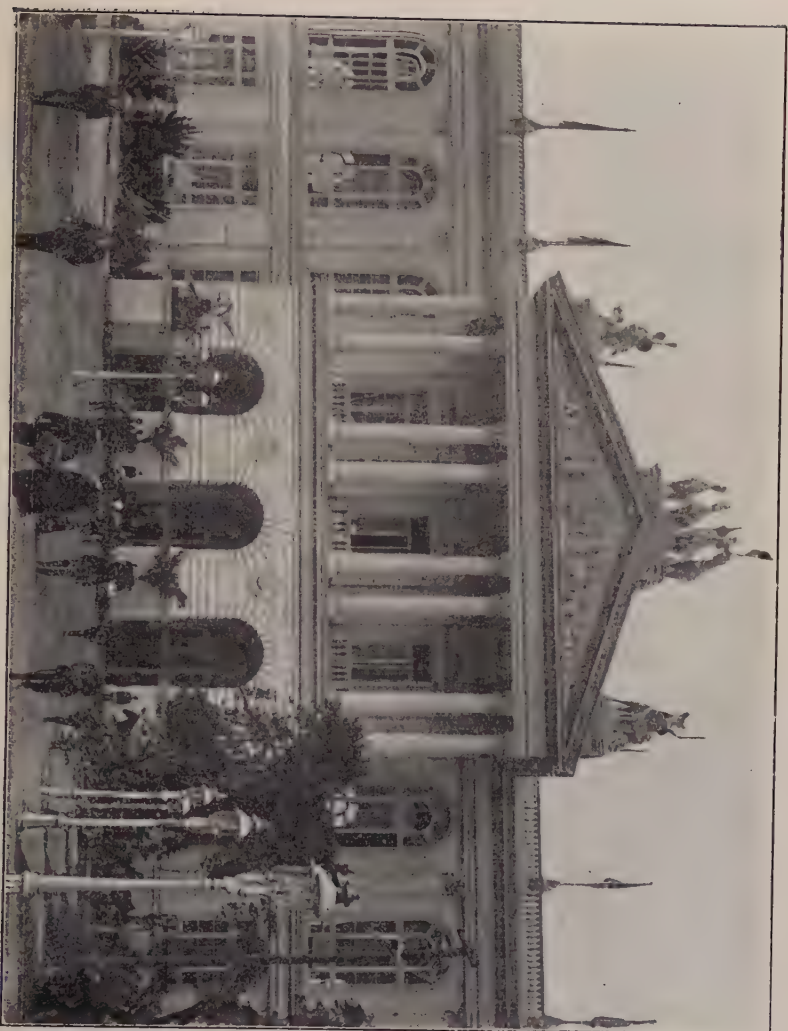
Chairman,
 J. HAMPTON MOORE.

1ST, JOHN C. GRADY,	Vice-Chairmen,	3D, JOHN VIRDIN.
Secretary,	2D, HORACE D. GAW,	
JOHN KELLEY.		Asst. Secretary,
Financial Secretary,		WILLIAM C. T. BAUERLE.
J. MARTIN ROMMEL.		Treasurer,
		T. E. WIEDERSHEIM.

CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.

Finance,	Conferences and Courtesies,
JOHN R. WIGGINS,	WILLIAM J. MILLIGAN.
Reception and Entertainment.	Badges, Music and Decorations,
JOHN C. GRADY.	WILLIAM M. GEARY.
Hotels and Boarding Houses.	Demonstrations,
JAMES H. ECKERSLEY.	FREDERICK M. WAGNER.
Transportation,	Press and Printing,
JAMES F. MORRISON.	ARTHUR R. H. MORROW.

The work of collecting the fund of \$100,000 was a large undertaking even in Philadelphia, whose generosity is widely known. The collections



CONVENTION HALL, (Main Entrance)

were pushed with energy by the Mayor and Chairman Pollock of the Finance Committee, and on February 16th Mayor Ashbridge forwarded to Senator Hanna, Chairman of the National Republican Committee, his check for \$25,000, being the first quarter of the fund pledged in the name of the city. Before March 1st a check for the second quarter was sent to Washington and the third quarter was forwarded soon after. The completion of the \$100,000 fund was announced on May 14th and straggling subscriptions coming in afterwards swelled the total considerably above \$100,000. Philadelphia, as usual, more than made good her word.

Alterations on the hall were speedily made and the accommodations planned to seat 15,000 people. At every visit of members or sub-committees of the Republican National Committee nothing but words of commendation were given. Sergeant-at-arms George N. Wiswell, after his tour of inspection on March 24th, said: "I have no hesitancy in saying that the arrangements made by the citizens of Philadelphia for the coming Convention are in every respect satisfactory to the Republican National Committee. I may also say that in my opinion the hall in which the Convention is to be held will be the best in which a national convention has ever met."

When the Convention assembled on June 19th everything that could be done by Philadelphia to make it a success had been done. The organization of the Citizens' Committee and the Allied Republican Clubs was perfect and it worked like a well oiled machine. Every citizen was eager to help in looking after the delegates and other visitors to the Convention. The police arrangements were unexcelled and transportation facilities adequate. Providence assisted by providing ideal weather, and on every side were heard enthusiastic and continual laudations of Philadelphia, her energy, her hospitality and her ability to provide for great events.

To Mayor Ashbridge and through him to the citizens of the city National Committeeman Hanna said: "I want to say to you, Mr. Mayor, that I have heard the opinion expressed everywhere that Philadelphia in the matter of this Convention has outdone herself. I want to say to you in all sincerity that we have never seen anything like it. The members of the National Committee are pleased beyond expression. Personally, I cannot thank you too much for what you and the citizens of Philadelphia have done to make the Convention a success and to make the visit of the delegates and their friends agreeable. Everybody is talking about it and one and all are sounding the praises of Philadelphia as a convention city. The perfect order that has been maintained here is freely commented upon. The hospitality of your people has been boundless and with all the liberality I have seen no signs of disorder."

The National Chairman also congratulated Mr. Moore on the arrangements made and carried out by the Allied Republican Clubs. Mr. Hanna but voiced the general sentiment, and when the Convention, having accomplished its business, adjourned, the delegates spread all over the Union the praises of Philadelphia; the typical American city.



HON. EDWARD O. WOLCOTT, of Colorado,
Temporary Chairman of the Convention, and Chairman of the Committee to
Notify the Candidate for Vice-President

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Republican National Convention

HELD IN
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

June 19, 20 and 21, 1900

THE FIRST DAY

THE CALL TO ORDER AND OPENING PRAYER—ADDRESS OF
CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, MR. HANNA
—TEMPORARY OFFICERS AND ORGANIZATION—AD-
DRESS OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN, MR. WOLCOTT—
STANDING COMMITTEES—PRAYER OF CHAPLAIN OF THE
NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1856.

CONVENTION HALL

PHILADELPHIA, PENNA., Tuesday, June 19, 1900.

Mr. MARCUS A. HANNA, of Ohio, Chairman of the Republican National Committee (at 12.36 o'clock p. m.) The Convention will come to order, and will be opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. James Gray Bolton, of Philadelphia.

PRAYER OF REV. JAMES GRAY BOLTON, D. D.

Rev. James Gray Bolton, D. D., of Philadelphia, offered the following prayer:

O Thou who art a Spirit Infinite, eternal, unchangeable, in Thy being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth.

Thou art the Sovereign God.

The Creator, ruler, disposer of us, and all that Thou hast made.

Thy thoughts are not our thoughts, nor Thy ways our ways.

Thy mercy is not limited to persons and to races, but comprehendeth all that live and breathe.

Blessed be Thy name. Thy glory is shown, and Thy kingdom established and advanced in leading men and nations, by a way that they knew not, to a land of security and peace.

Oh, that men would praise Thee for Thy goodness and for Thy wonderful works to the children of men.

We adore Thee for the way in which Thou hast led us.

The glory and honor of our nation is the manifestation of Thy power and glory.

Thou hast led us in ways not of our own choosing; ways best for us and most to Thy glory.

May we cheerfully follow where Thou ledest.

Thou hast been the God of our fathers.

Thou art the God of their children.

Our trust is in Thee.

Save us, O Lord, from ingratitude and discontent.

Give us the spirit of praise and thanksgiving.

Grant that we, as a nation and a people, may remember Thy goodness, and praise Thee for continued life and prosperity.

O Lord, our God, let Thy richest blessing rest upon Thy servant, the President of these United States.

Indue him with a competency of Thy divine wisdom; that he may direct the affairs of the nation to Thy glory and the well-being of all our people.

We humbly beseech Thee, O Lord God, to bless all in authority.

Sustain them in their responsible relations to Thee and a free people.

O God of all wisdom and grace, grant unto this assembly wisdom, grace, and guidance; that in all their deliberations, and conclusions, Thy name shall be glorified, the honor of this nation maintained and the peace and prosperity of the people established.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end, Amen.

CALL FOR THE CONVENTION.

Mr. M. A. HANNA, of Ohio.—The Secretary will now read the call for the Convention.

Mr. CHARLES DICK, Secretary of the Republican National Committee, read the call for the Convention, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

N. W. Cor. 14th and G Streets, Washington, D. C.

The Executive Committee—M. A. Hanna, Ohio, Chairman; Charles Dick, Akron, Ohio, Secretary; James G. Cannon, New York, Treasurer; M.

S. Quay, Beaver, Pennsylvania; Joseph H. Manley, Augusta, Maine; Henry C. Payne, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Powell Clayton, Eureka Springs, Ark.; W. T. Durbin, Anderson, Indiana; Cyrus Leland, Troy, Kansas; N. B. Scott, Wheeling, West Virginia; Charles G. Dawes, Evanston, Illinois.

To the Republican Electors of the United States:

In accordance with established custom and in obedience to instructions of the National Convention of 1896, the National Republican Committee directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican party be held at the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, to be voted for at the Presidential election, Tuesday, November 6, 1900, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it, and that said Convention shall assemble at 12 o'clock noon on Tuesday, the 19th day of June, 1900.

The Republican electors of the several States, the District of Columbia, and the Territories, and all other electors, without regard to past political affiliations, who believe in the principles of the Republican party and endorse its policies, are cordially invited to unite under this call in the selection of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Said National Convention shall consist of a number of delegates at large from each State, equal to double the number of United States Senators to which each State is entitled, and for each representative at large in Congress two delegates at large; from each Congressional district and the District of Columbia, two delegates; from each of the Territories of Alaska, Arizona, Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, two delegates. For each delegate elected to said Convention an alternate delegate shall be elected to act in case of the absence of the delegate, said alternate delegate to be elected at the time and in the manner of electing the delegate.

All delegates shall be elected not less than thirty days before the meeting of the National Convention. Delegates at large shall be elected by popular State and Territorial Conventions, of which at least thirty days' notice shall have been published in some newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the respective States and Territories.

The Congressional district delegates shall be elected by conventions called by the Congressional Committee of each district, in the manner of nominating the candidate for Representative in Congress in said district, provided, that in any Congressional district where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall appoint from among the Republicans residents in such district, a committee for the purpose of calling a district convention to elect delegates to represent said district.

The election of delegates from the District of Columbia shall be held under the direction and supervision of an election board composed of Hon. John B. Cotton, Mr. W. C. Chase, and Mr. L. M. Saunders.

Such board shall have authority to fix the date of such election and to arrange all details and regulations incident thereto, and shall provide for a registration of the votes as cast, such registration to include the name and residence of each voter.

The Territorial delegates shall be elected in the manner of nominating candidates for delegates in Congress, and delegates from the Indian Territory and Alaska shall be elected by popular convention.

We recommend that the Territories of Arizona, Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Oklahoma each elect six delegates and six alternate delegates, and that Alaska elect four delegates and four alternate delegates, and the admission of such additional delegates to the Convention is hereby recommended.

All notices of contest shall be submitted in writing, accompanied by a printed statement setting forth the grounds of contest, which shall be filed with the Secretary of the National Committee twenty days prior to the meeting of the National Convention. Contests will be acted on by the National Convention in the order of the date of filing of notice and statement with the Secretary.

M. A. HANNA, Chairman.

CHARLES DICK, Secretary.

ADDRESS OF CHAIRMAN OF NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE.

MR. M. A. HANNA, of Ohio. Gentlemen of the Convention: In bidding you welcome I also desire to extend congratulations upon this magnificent gathering of representatives of the great Republican party (applause). The National Republican Committee made no mistake when they brought the National Convention to the city of Philadelphia. (Applause.) This city, the cradle of liberty (applause), the birthplace of the Republican party (applause), this magnificent industrial center, a veritable beehive of industry ---what fitter object lesson could be presented to those of us who gather here to witness the success of the great principle of our party which has been its foundation--protection to American industries (applause); this city which has long and always been known the country over for its unbounded hospitality and the superb management of all great functions which have come within its limits (applause). On the part of the National Committee I desire to extend sincere thanks to the people of Philadelphia, and especially to your honorable Mayor (applause) and the loyal citizens, who, without regard to party, have labored with him to make this Convention a success. Never in the history of conventions of either political party has success been greater.

Delegates, I greet you on the anniversary in Philadelphia of the birthday of our party (applause). I need not remind you that your duty here is one of deliberate judgment, one for which you will be held responsible not only by your party, but by the country. We are called together once more upon the eve of another great struggle. We are now beginning to form our battalions under the leadership of our great statesman-general, William McKinley (great applause). I was about to give the order for those battalions to move, but you interrupted me (laughter). It needs no order to Republicans when they scent from afar the smoke of battle. It is unnecessary to tell the men who sit in front of me what their duty is.

Before I lay aside my gavel and retire from the position I have held for four years as Chairman of the Republican National Committee, I desire in this presence, in the most public manner, to return my sincere thanks to every member of this splendid Committee who stood by me in the struggle of 1896 (applause), and especially to that coterie who gathered at the headquarters in New York and Chicago and worked from early morn till late at night for the principles of the Republican party and for the welfare of their country. I leave it in the hands of others to tell you what that meant, but in passing to others those duties, I want to make one suggestion—always trust the people. (Applause.) I want them to use as the motto of the Committee of 1896: "There is no such word as fail." (Applause.)

And now, gentlemen, it becomes my duty and very great pleasure to present as your temporary chairman Senator Wolcott, of Colorado. (Applause.)

MR. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I move that the recommendation of the National Republican Committee in respect of the selection of a temporary chairman be approved.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

MR. HANNA, of Ohio. Gentlemen of the convention, I have the honor to present to you as the temporary presiding officer of the convention, Hon. Edward O. Wolcott, of Colorado (applause).

ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (HON. E. O. WOLCOTT, of Colorado.) Gentlemen of the convention.--Since the first party convention in these United States, there was never one gathered together under such hopeful and auspicious circumstances as those which surround us to-day. United, proud of the achievements of the past four years, our country prosperous and happy, with nothing to regret and naught to make us ashamed, with a record spotless and clean, the Republican party stands facing the dawn, confident

that the ticket it shall present will command public approval, and that in the declaration of its principles and its purposes, it will voice the aspirations and hopes of the vast majority of American freemen (applause).

We need "no omen but our country's cause;" yet there is a significance in the fact that the convention is assembled in this historic and beautiful city, where we first assumed territorial responsibilities, when our fathers, a century and a quarter ago, promulgated the immortal Declaration of Independence.

The spirit of justice and liberty that animated them found voice three-quarters of a century later in this same City of Brotherly Love, when Fremont led the forlorn hope of united patriots who laid here the foundations of our party and put human freedom as its corner stone (applause). It compelled our ears to listen to the cry of suffering across the shallow waters of the Gulf two years ago. While we observe the law of nations and maintain that neutrality which we owe to a great and friendly government, the same spirit lives to-day in the genuine feeling of sympathy we cherish for the brave men now fighting for their homes in the veldts of South Africa. It prompts us in our determination to give to the dusky races of the Philippines the blessings of good government and republican institutions, and finds voice in our indignant protest against the violent suppression of the rights of the colored man in the South (applause). That spirit will survive in the breasts of patriotic men as long as the Nation endures; and the events of the past have taught us that it can find its fair and free and full expression only in the principles and policy of the Republican party.

The first and pleasant duty of this great convention, as well as its instinctive impulse, is to send a message of affectionate greeting to our Leader and our country's President, William McKinley, (applause). In all that pertains to our welfare in times of peace, his genius has directed us. He has shown an unerring mastery of the economic problems which confront us, and has guided us out of the slough of financial disaster, impaired credit and commercial stagnation, up to the high and safe ground of National prosperity and financial stability (applause). Through the delicate and trying events of the late war he stood firm, courageous and conservative, and under his leadership we have emerged triumphant, our National honor untarnished, our credit unassailed, and the equal devotion of every section of our common country to the welfare of the Republic cemented forever (applause). Never in the memory of this generation has there stood at the head of the Government a truer patriot, a wiser or more courageous leader, or a better example of the highest type of American manhood (applause). The victories of Peace and the victories of War are alike inscribed upon his banner (applause). Those of us whose pleasure and whose duty have called us from time to time into his presence, know how freely he has spent and been spent in his country's service; but the same vigorous manhood and clear and patriotic vision animate him as of

old, and give us confidence and trust for the future of our Republic, because his hand will guide us, and his genius direct (applause).

Four years ago the Republican party at St. Louis named a ticket which commanded the confidence and support of the American people. It bore the names of two eminent Americans, each endeared by years of loyal service to his country and his party. No whisper of personal attack intruded upon the National issues which determined the contest. There was a double safeguard for the country's welfare. Every true American knew that if in the dispensation of Providence our Leader should be called from his high place, there stood beside him a statesman devoted and staunch, in whose hands the vast and weighty affairs of our country could be well and safely entrusted. Had Garret Augustus Hobart been spared to us until to-day, the work of this convention would have been limited to a cordial and unanimous indorsement of the leaders of '96. *Diis aliter visum*--and when, a few months ago, our dear Vice-President left this sphere of usefulness for another, he was accompanied with the tears and sorrow of every lover of his country. He distinctly lifted up the high office of Vice-President to a nobler plane and to greater dignity and importance. He was always the trusted friend and adviser of our President, sage in counsel and wise in judgment; while to those of us whose great privilege it was for three years to see him daily in the Senate of the United States, and to come under the influence of his calm and kindly presence, and to grow nearer to him and more endeared in friendship as the months rolled around, his loss is personal and deep. He is no longer with us in the body, but his influence still permeates the Senate and will for all time make better and kindlier the sons of men, and he lives in the hearts he left behind.

"There is
One great society alone on earth--
The noble living and the noble dead."

So many events of great portent have been crammed into the past months, that we are to judge and measure the work of this administration chiefly by the occurrences since the outbreak of the Spanish war. It is worth while for us to recall earlier days.

When Mr. McKinley became President he took the reins of government after four years of Democratic administration. For the first time in more than a generation Democracy had full sway, with both Houses of Congress in party accord with the Executive. No summary of the unmerciful disasters of those four years can convey an idea of a tithe of the ruin they wrought.

In the four years preceding Mr. Cleveland's administration we had paid two hundred and sixty millions of the National debt; he added two hundred and thirty millions to its burdens. He found a tariff act, bearing the name of his successor and our President, fitted to meet the requirements of our necessary expenditures, to furnish the needed protection to our farmers

and manufacturers, and to insure the steady and remunerative employment of those who labor. Instead of permitting manufacture and commerce that repose and stability of law which are essential for working out economic conditions, he at once recommended violent and radical changes in revenue and tariff provisions, recommendations which his party in Congress proceeded partially and disastrously to execute. The appalling result of his policy is still fresh in the memory of millions who suffered from it. In four years the country witnessed some 60,000 commercial failures, with liabilities aggregating more than nine hundred million dollars. One hundred and seventy-seven railroads, with a mileage of 45,000 miles, or twice the circle of the globe, and with securities amounting to nearly three billion dollars, were unable to meet their interest charges and passed into the hands of receivers. More than 170 national banks closed their doors, with liabilities reaching seventy millions; wool and all farm products which tariffs could affect, lost tens of millions in value; farm mortgages were foreclosed by thousands throughout the great West; our agricultural exports shrunk in value; the balance of trade which had been in our favor turned ruinously against us; the National Treasury was depleted of its gold reserve; our Government bonds were sold to syndicates at far below their market value before or since, and our steadily declining revenues were insufficient to meet the necessary expenses of conducting the Government. If capital alone had suffered, the loss would have been great, but not irremediable. Unfortunately those who rely upon their daily labor for their sustenance, and their families dependent upon them, constituting the great mass of the American people, were made to feel heaviest the burden of disaster. Nearly one-third of the laboring population of the United States were thrown out of employment, and men by thousands, able and willing to labor, walked the highways of the land clamoring for work or food.

Four years of commercial misfortune enabled our industries to meet, in a measure, these changed and depressed conditions, but when President McKinley was inaugurated the country was in a state more deplorable than had existed for a generation.

Facing these difficulties, the President immediately upon his inauguration convened Congress in extra session, and in a message of force and lucidity summarized the legislation essential to our National prosperity. The industrial history of the United States for the past four years is the tribute to the wisdom of his judgment. (Applause.) It is quickly epitomized.

The tariff measure under which we are now conducting business was preceded by an unusual volume of importations based upon common knowledge that certain duties were to be raised; the bill met the popular demand that duties on many of the necessities of life should be lowered and not raised; advances in invention and new trade conditions made it unnecessary and unwise to revert to the higher tariff provisions of the law of 1890; the increases in the revenue provisions were slight. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, tending to reduce income, the revenues from the Dingley Bill

marched steadily upwards, until soon our normal income exceeded our normal expenditure, and we passed from a condition of threatened insolvency to one of National solvency. (Applause.)

This tells but a small fraction of the story. Under the wise provisions of our tariff laws and the encouragement afforded to capital by a renewal of public confidence, trade commenced to revive. The looms were no longer silent and the mills deserted; railway earnings increased, merchants and banks resumed business, labor found employment at fair wages, our exports increased, and the sunshine of hope again illumined the land. The figures that illustrate the growing prosperity of the four years of Republican administration well nigh stagger belief. There is not an idle mill in the country to-day. The mortgages on Western farms have been paid by the tens of thousands, and our farmers are contented and prosperous. Our exports have reached enormous figures; for the last twelve months our exports of merchandise will exceed our imports by five hundred and fifty million dollars. Our manufactured articles are finding a market all over the world and in constantly increasing volume. We are rapidly taking our place as one of the great creditor nations of the world. Above and beyond all, there is no man who labors with his hands, in all our broad domain, who cannot find work, and the scale of wages was never in our history so high as now. (Applause.)

Passing over, for the moment, the events associated with the war, let me refer briefly to other legislation of the past four years.

We passed a National Bankrupt Act, a measure rendered essential by four years of Democratic rule, and under its beneficent provisions, thousands of honest men who were engulfed in disaster because of the blight of the Democratic policy, are again enabled to transact business and share the blessings of Republican prosperity. (Applause.)

For half a century the Hawaiian Islands, a menace to the long line of coast which skirts our Pacific slope, have been knocking for admission as part of our territory, and during that period the publicly expressed opinion of both political parties favored their annexation. Four times have they been occupied by European powers, and so often have we compelled their abandonment because it was essential that they should never be occupied by any foreign power. Finally, after years of misgovernment by native rulers, the gallant descendants of American merchants and missionaries made proffer again of these valuable possessions to this country, asking only to come under our flag and dominion. A Democratic President repudiated the offer, and sought to assist in restoring the former corrupt and oppressive ruler. It was left for this administration to make them a part of American territory. (Applause.) They are on the way to our islands in the Southern seas; every instinct of self-protection should have prompted our quick acceptance of their sovereignty, and yet they were acquired in spite of the bitter opposition of almost every Democrat in Congress.

During the last administration an offer of settlement was made to the Pacific railroads which would have brought us forty-two million dollars out of the seventy million dollars due us in principal and interest. President McKinley, refusing to consider as binding the former offer, and acting within the authority of Congress, collected every dollar both of principal and interest due from the Union Pacific Company, and the principal of the debt due from the Kansas Pacific. (Applause.) We saved more than twenty million dollars over the offer of settlement made by Mr. Cleveland, and have collected all of the principal and most of the interest due us. (Applause.) Thus was this transaction closed, and it has since been followed by a settlement of the debt of the Central Pacific Railroad, calling for every dollar of principal and interest of the debt, amounting to fifty-eight millions. More than 35 years ago a Republican administration lent the credit of the country to the building of the great iron band that was to link together the East and the West, lent it not in times of peace but when our country was in the throes of civil war. The area to be penetrated was then unsettled and unknown. It is now a great empire, rich, prosperous and happy, and the money of the people which made the highway possible, has been returned to them in overflowing measure. (Applause.)

Whenever a Republican administration is in power there is constant talk of trusts. The reason is not far to seek. Aggregations and combinations of capital find their only encouragement in prosperous days and widening commerce. (Applause.) Democratic administration in this country has universally meant industrial stagnation and commercial depression, when capital seeks a hiding place instead of investment. The Republican party has always maintained that any combination having for its purpose the cornering of a market or the raising or controlling of the price of the necessities of life was unlawful and should be punished (applause), and a commission appointed by the President under act of Congress has made careful investigation and will soon present a full report of the best method of dealing with this intricate question. We shall meet it in some efficient way and, as a party, shall have the courage to protect every class of our citizens (applause). There was never a better time to deal with it than now, when there is not in this broad land a man willing to work who does not find employment at fair wages, and when the clamor of the agitator who seeks confiscation and not regulation, falls on dead ears and finds no response from the artisans in our busy workshops. (Applause.)

The campaign four years ago was fought on the currency question. The Populistic Democracy insisted that the United States alone should embark on the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting the concurrence of any other nation. The Republican party insisted that the question of bimetallism was international, and that until it should be settled under agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, gold should continue to be the standard of value in these United States. Upon

that issue we triumphed. (Applause). In accordance with the pledge of the party an honest effort was made to reach some international solution of the question. The effort failed of accomplishment. The mints of the countries of Europe were open for the coinage of gold alone. The vast discoveries of Alaska, South Africa, and the States of our own country, have furnished a steadily increasing volume of gold, and, with the recent European action, have demonstrated that the question is one calling for international action by all the great countries of the world, and, if ever entered into, must be by such concurrent action of the leading commercial nations as shall secure permanence of relative value to the two metals. Meanwhile we follow the path of safety. (Applause.) As we grow year by year more firmly established as a creditor nation, the question concerns us less and other countries more. No impairment of national credit can be contemplated by an honorable nation. We have made advances enough; this country can better afford than any other to enter upon the contest for commercial supremacy with gold as its standard, and for us the time has come to give fair notice to the world that we, too, make gold our standard and redeem our obligations in that metal. (Applause.) For twelve years the platforms of the party have declared in favor of the use of gold and silver as money. The logic of recent events, together with the attempt of the Democracy to drag down the question from its international character, to associate it with every vagary of Populism and Socialism, and to drive this country to an alliance with Mexico and China, as an exclusively silver using country, has impelled our people to this settlement of the problem, and the recent action of Congress has eliminated the danger which its further agitation menaced. (Applause.)

The provisions of the act secure to the people a needed increase in the volume of currency, prevent the future depletion of the gold in the Treasury, and encourage a more extended use of our bonds by the National Banks of the country. But, above all, the success attending its passage has demonstrated that our own people and the nations of Europe have faith in the permanence of our institutions and our financial integrity. (Applause.) Our debt is funded at two per cent. per annum, and millions of our interest charge saved annually. The world has never witnessed so triumphant a financial success as has followed the passage of the currency law, and our two per cent. bonds, held the world over, already command a substantial premium. (Applause.) Through the policy of the Republican party and the wisdom of a Republican administration, we have not only made stable and permanent our financial credit, at home and abroad, are utilizing more silver as money than ever before in our history, but we have left the Populistic Democracy a dead issue they can never again galvanize into life, and compelled them to seek to create new issues growing out of a war which they were most eager to precipitate. (Applause.)

May I, a Western man, add another word? The passage of this bill, which received the vote of every Western Republican in Congress, marked

the termination, forever final, of any sort of difference between Republicans of the East and of the West, growing out of currency problems. (Applause.) Even if the stern logic of events had not convinced us, our deep and abiding loyalty to the principles of the party, our belief that the judgment of its majority should govern, would lead us to abandon further contention. And the thousands of Republicans in the West who left us four years ago are returning home. (Applause.) The men of the far West are bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh. The sun that shines on you blesses them also, and the shadow before your door darkens their homes as well. They are naturally expansionists in the Western plains and mountains (applause), and when they see a great political party attacking the integrity of the Nation, and lending encouragement to insurrectionists who are shooting down our soldiers and resisting the authority of the Government of the United States, all other questions fade and are forgotten, and they find themselves standing shoulder to shoulder in the ranks of the Republican party, keeping step, always, "to the music of the Union." (Applause.)

There is more to follow this summary of a few of the leading measures passed by a Republican Congress and approved by a Republican President. Before the expiration of Mr. McKinley's first term, we shall have passed a law relieving certain articles from a portion at least of the burdens they now carry because of the War Revenue Act, and meanwhile we have, out of surplus revenues, already paid and called in for cancellation forty-three million dollars of outstanding bonds. The coming winter will see enacted into law, legislation which shall revivify and upbuild our ocean merchant marine, and enable us to compete on fair terms with the subsidized ships of foreign nations which now so largely monopolize the carriage of American goods. (Applause.) And above all, we shall, having then before us the report of the able commission now ascertaining the most favorable route, pass a law under which we shall build and own and operate as property of the United States, under exclusive American dominion and control, a ship canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific. (Applause.) Through it in time of peace the commerce of the world shall pass. If we shall be unhappily engaged in war, the canal shall carry our warships and shall exclude those of the enemy, and under conditions which shall violate no treaty stipulations. (Applause.)

This is the brief account of our stewardship for four years. During a portion of that period we were involved in a war which for a time paralyzed business and commerce, and would have taxed heavily the resources and credit of any other country than ours; and for the past year or more we have been employing an army of some 50,000 men in suppressing an insurrection against our authority 8,000 miles away. No industry has felt the strain of these extraordinary expenses, nor have they affected the general sum of our prosperity. (Applause.) More than that, the conditions resulting from the legislation of the past four years have obliterated

every issue that was raised during the last campaign. The Democracy having therefore to find some rallying cry, seek it in the results of our late war with Spain, and upon that question, as upon all others, we stand ready to meet them in the open. (Applause.)

During the weeks and months preceding the outbreak of hostilities with Spain, the President of the United States, who knew by personal experience on many a battle-field something of the horrors of war, and who realized the expense and suffering which war entailed, stood firmly upon the ground that a peaceful solution could be found. And when that awful occurrence took place in the harbor of Havana, and a hot frenzy of indignation swept over our people, and a conflict seemed inevitable, he faced popular clamor and heated counsels, and still believed that the wrongs of Cuba could be remedied and redressed without an appeal to the arbitrament of war. (Applause.)

The folly of Spain and the indignation of the American people forbade a peaceful solution. Then the President, seconded by a Republican Congress, before a gun was fired, declared to the world the lofty and unselfish motives that alone actuated the nation. (Applause.) No man now, or in the centuries to come, when History, which alone "triumphs over time," recounts the marvelous story of the war which changed the map of the world, shall ever truthfully say that this Republic was animated by any but the noblest purposes. (Applause.) Recorded time tells of no such war, for it was fought, with bloody sacrifice, by a great and free Republic, for the freedom of another race, while its own liberties were unassailed. (Applause.)

This is not the time or the occasion to dwell upon the incidents of the war, crowded with successive victories and illuminated with countless examples of individual bravery and gallant conduct. (Applause.) Its living heroes are honored by a generous country; its dead have ennobled the race, and will live forever in the hearts of a grateful people. (Applause.) Throughout all its anxious days the President, Commander-in-Chief of our armies and our navies, planned and directed with unerring hand. His wise diplomacy saved us from threatened international complications. From the commencement of hostilities until their close the conduct of the war was unassailable, and the paltry criticisms of two years ago are already buried in the limbo of oblivion. (Applause.)

In August, 1898, a preliminary protocol was executed at Washington, followed by the sessions of the Peace Commissioners of the United States and Spain, in Paris, commencing in October of that year. Public interest in this country concerning these negotiations was intense. Until our soldiers and sailors had landed at Manila we had known little of the conditions of the people of the Philippines. We soon ascertained that the cruelties and oppressions existing in Cuba were mild compared with the treatment to which eight millions of people in those islands were subjected. We realized that if we relinquished the archipelago to Spain we

consigned its inhabitants again to a condition worse than slavery, worse than barbarism. We had put our hands to the plough, and every instinct of honor and humanity forbade us to turn back. (Applause.) A universal demand arose from all over the country that we should retain our hold upon these islands, afford their people the protection of our laws, lift them out of their unfortunate condition, and fit them, if possible, for self-government. Any agreement by our Commissioners to give back the Philippines to Spain, reserving for ourselves an island or a coaling station, would have aroused a universal national indignation, and would never have been ratified by the representatives of the people. (Applause.)

No man saw this so clearly as did the President. In his advices to the Commissioners he told them it was imperative that we should be governed only by motives that should exalt the nation; that territorial expansion was our least concern, but that, whatever else was done, the people of the Philippines must be liberated from Spanish domination; and he reached this view solely through considerations of duty and humanity. (Applause.) The American Commissioners, men of differing political faiths, reached a unanimous conclusion. The Treaty of Paris was ratified by the vote of two-thirds of the Senate, and the territory we acquired under it became lawful and legal possessions of the United States. (Applause.) The responsibility for the war rested upon us all; the responsibility for the treaty rests chiefly upon the Republican party, and that party avows the wisdom of the treaty and declares it to be the policy of the party to adhere to its terms and to accept the responsibilities it imposed. (Applause.)

We assumed dominion of Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines for reasons differing as to each of them.

We took to ourselves the little island of Porto Rico because it lay under the shadow of our own shores, and because its continued occupancy by Spain or by any foreign government would be a constant menace to the States and to that great inter-oceanic waterway which we shall build and own and operate as an American canal. (Applause.) We found it impoverished by years of colonial misgovernment and without any system of revenue laws. Soon after the peace its people were further stricken by flood and famine. We assumed towards them every obligation which sympathy and friendship could prompt. (Applause.) We contributed as a nation large sums of money to ameliorate their condition and to enable them to plant and garner their crops. Then we said to them, "we shall give you a just and equitable government, with power to manage your home affairs. Until you shall devise proper and efficient methods of revenue and taxation, your needed funds shall be raised as follows: You shall pay upon your imports 15 per cent. of the present tariff rate governing importations into the United States, which means an average duty of about 7 per cent. All the necessities of life and building materials for the structures you need shall be free. On the 1st day of March, 1902, all these duties shall cease in any event, and shall cease sooner if before

that time you can arrange for the needed revenues of the island." (Applause.)

The recommendations of the President were fully and satisfactorily complied with; the people of the island are content, the vast mass of the American people approve, and we have avoided precedents that might vex us when we come to deal with the problems that finally await us in the establishment of our permanent relations towards the people of the Philippine Islands. (Applause.)

There has been much discussion during the past few months in respect to the extent of the power of this country to deal with Porto Rico and our other possessions, and it has been frequently contended by the Democracy that as soon as we became the owners of any of these islands the Constitution of the United States at once extended over them, or in the oratorical but misleading phrase, "The Constitution follows the Flag." The argument is specious, but it will not bear investigation. The same question was raised in 1803, at the time of the Louisiana Purchase, and the doctrine was then established by Congress that we could acquire foreign soil by purchase, that Congress had the right to establish there such government as it saw fit, and that the Constitution did not of its own force extend over such territory. The doctrine was never questioned until in Calhoun's time it was sought to be denied in the effort to extend human slavery into the territories.

The Supreme Court of the United States has more than once determined the question, and the contention concerning it now by our opponents is not because anybody believes that the laws we have enacted for the government of the island are unjust, but in order to embarrass the administration in dealing effectively with our new possessions. (Applause) The flag went to Mexico in 1848, the Constitution did not. The flag went to Cuba and was carried into Santiago, and is there yet. (Applause.) But our Constitution not only is not there, but we are busy encouraging Cuba to prepare a constitution of her own. When any portion of our territory becomes a sovereign State, then is our Constitution its cornerstone. In the territory of the United States not included within State boundaries Congress alone determines the extent to which the provisions of the Constitution extend.

The circumstances associated with our possession of Cuba are new and unparalleled in the history of conquests. The cruelties practiced upon its people induced the war. Before we commenced hostile proceedings, however, and that the world might know that our hands were clean and that we were not animated by lust for territory, we solemnly disclaimed any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the island except for its pacification, and asserted our determination, when that was accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people. (Applause.) To this declaration we still rigorously adhere. (Applause.)

When we took possession at the close of the war we found the conditions existing in Cuba to be deplorable. Under the conservative and wise management of Generals Brooke and Wood vast improvements have been effected, and we have given the people the first good government they have ever known. We found its cities beds of pestilence. We have stamped out yellow fever and made Havana as healthy a city as exists at that latitude. We took its starving reconcentrados who had survived the war, and its other poverty-stricken people, and fed and clothed them. We organized a public school system, and have everywhere established law and order. (Applause.) This had first to be done. Then followed a compliance of the terms of the treaty which gave the Spanish inhabitants until April 11th to determine whether or not they would register as citizens or preserve their allegiance to Spain. Meanwhile a careful census of the island was made. Then came the fixing of the qualifications for the right of suffrage, which were fairly bestowed. The island was divided into municipalities and the registration provided for. And on yesterday, the 18th of June, municipal elections were held all through the island, as the first and preliminary step towards the establishment of a national government and the adoption of a constitution. (Applause.)

And in this connection it is fitting to say that the peculations and frauds committed in Cuba by subordinate officials have made every American blush with shame, and until the last of the guilty men is arrested and convicted and sentenced that shame will know no abatement. (Applause.) It is no more to be charged to the party than would a theft by a trusted employee be charged against the character of the merchant who employed him. (Applause.) The party that shields and protects dishonest officials forfeits public confidence, not the party that exposes and punishes them. (Applause.) The Republican party has been rarely the victim of misplaced confidence in its officials. In this instance the appointments were made with the greatest care, many of them from the classified service. Whenever fraud has been discovered the guilty have been pursued unsparingly and with the greatest publicity. (Applause.) So has it been with these thieving Post Office officials; so has it been always. In the vast aggregate of business transacted by the Government the dishonest man is rare, and his detection certain. The great humiliation is that the thefts were from the people of an island towards whom we sustain a fiduciary relation, and whose confidence we ask. That this Government makes good the loss is not enough, and perhaps the lesson has not been in vain if it shall serve to stimulate us to even greater care in dealing with these people for whom we have poured out our blood and treasure, and whom we hope some day to welcome on terms of closest friendship as citizens of a sister republic. (Applause.)

We are dealing with Cuba in a spirit not only of fairness but of generosity and of absolute unselfishness, and whenever the inhabitants of that island evince and declare their ability to take over its government and

control, that day they shall receive it; and until then we shall continue to administer its affairs under a rule salutary and satisfactory to all good citizens in Cuba, and creditable to the administration at Washington under whose orders the government is conducted. (Applause.)

Had there been, fellow-citizens, no war with Spain this Republic, inclined by principle and instinct and tradition to peaceful ways, would have continued the development of our National resources and character within its existing borders, content in the future, as throughout the century just ending, with that path of National duty. We are not a warlike or a quarrelsome people. We have never coveted the possessions of foreign principalities, and land lust is unknown among us. We would fight to the death to protect that which is rightfully ours; to avenge a wrong sought to be perpetuated upon us, and to guard this hemisphere from any attempt by foreign powers to further extend their rule over its soil. (Applause.) This has been our creed, and we have looked forward with hope and confidence to the time when these United States, lying between the two oceans, should lead among the nations of the earth, not by right of the sword, but because the character and high intelligence of our people, and the marvelous resources of our country, would enable us, in the peaceful rivalry of commerce, to dominate eventually the markets of the world. (Applause.) To that end we had, for more than a hundred years, held ourselves aloof from foreign complications, and sought to make ourselves strong from within, with no thought of colonial conquest.

The future of nations, however, like the future of man, is hid from mortal vision, and, no more than man may a nation choose its own duties. When this war ended and we faced our victory in all its completeness, we found eight million people, living upon uncounted islands, delivered into our hands. Abandonment of them would be confession that while the oppression by Spain of a million and a half of Cubans demanded our armed interference, greater barbarity and cruelty to millions of Filipinos, less able to protect themselves, was a subject of no concern to us. (Applause.) No civilized nation in the world, no Christian nation, could have turned these people back to Spain. Our Commissioners, when they insisted upon our retention of the Philippines, voiced the sentiments and wishes of the American people; and this nation has assumed with open eyes and with full realization of the difficulties which may be encountered, the grave responsibilities imposed upon us by the Treaty of Paris. (Applause.)

We are told that the islands are rich in all the products of the tropics, in mineral wealth, and in the possibilities of their future development. So much the better. But if they were as barren as the Libyan desert, we would have taken them just the same. (Applause.)

We have not been there long, but long enough to reach two conclusions: One is, that the first thing we intend doing is to suppress the Tagal insurrection and to establish law and order throughout the archipelago.

(Applause.) That is the first thing we shall do. And the last, the very last thing we intend doing, is to consider, even for a moment, the question of giving up or of abandoning those islands. (Applause.)

We are actually owners of the Philippines by an undisputed and indubitable title. We are there as the necessary and logical outcome of our victory over Spain. There are upwards of a thousand islands sprinkled upon that Southern sea, peopled by more than eighty tribes of differing race and language, and having absolutely nothing in common with each other. Most of these tribes welcome our coming and are grateful for our protection. The Tagal tribe, hostile not only to us but to most of the native tribes, are in insurrection against our authority. They have neither a government nor the capacity to conduct one, and are waging a predatory guerilla warfare which would be turned against the other native tribes if we let them alone. What would the Democracy have us do? Give them up to rapine and bloodshed, and leave the islands as flotsam and jetsam on the face of the waters?

There are parallels in our own history. For five millions of dollars, and other valuable considerations we purchased Florida from Spain in 1821, when it had four thousand white settlers. The Seminoles, natives of the soil, brave, resolute, having far greater intelligence and character than the Tagals, disputed our possession. We sent Andrew Jackson down to fight them, and it took us twenty-one years to subdue them and send what was left of them west of the Mississippi. If the "Anti-everythings" had lived then, they would, I suppose, have urged us to turn over Florida to Osceola, the Aguinaldo of the Seminoles! (Laughter.) Would you, after the war with Mexico and the Gadsden purchase have given the great area south and west of the Arkansas to the red Apache? Not so did our fathers construe their duty, and as they built, so shall we their sons. (Applause.)

The insurrection against our legitimate authority, which, for the time, impedes our efforts to establish a government for the Filipinos, involves us in a sacrifice of lives and of treasure. The difficulties we encounter in the island of Luzon are many, but the chief inspiration and encouragement of the Tagal insurrection come from the Democratic headquarters in the United States. (Applause.) Partisanship has proved stronger than patriotism, even while our soldiers are being murdered by marauding bandits, and if it were not for the hope held out to Aguinaldo by American sympathizers, the insurrection in the Philippines would long ago have ended. (Applause.)

The obstacles to the establishment of a civil government in the islands are many, but we shall overcome them. (Applause.) Mistakes will undoubtedly be made, but we shall remedy them. We shall in time extend over that archipelago the aegis of our protection and of free government, and we shall gradually, but surely, lift these alien and savage races into the light of civilization and Christianity. (Applause.) Meanwhile,

American enterprise and ingenuity and push may be depended upon to develop the resources of the islands, and to make them an added source of wealth to our country. The wise statesmanship of the President and our able Secretary of State has already brought from the countries of Europe a recognition of our right to share in the vast commercial advantages which will follow the opening of the Chinese Empire to foreign trade; the Nicaraguan Canal will be soon constructed; Hawaii, with its valuable harbor, is ours; we possess the best of the Samoan Islands, with its magnificent roadway; the Philippines are almost at the door of China, and if counsels of fear do not prevail, this generation will see the American Nation girdling half the globe with its flag, extending its foreign commerce to the uttermost parts of the earth, and taking its place among the great world-nations, a power for good, for peace, and for righteousness. (Applause.)

Never since 1864, when the voters of the country were called upon to determine whether the efforts of Abraham Lincoln to preserve the Union should be continued or whether they should be abandoned and other measures attempted, have questions so vital been presented to the American people for settlement. Their decision must determine the maintenance or the degradation both of our National credit and our National honor. A Democratic President could paralyze the operation of the new currency law as effectively as if it were wiped from our statute books. A Democratic victory would infuse new life into the Tagal insurrection, cost us the lives of thousands of our gallant army in the Philippines, impair or destroy our prestige, if not our power, in the islands, make us a byword among the other great nations of the world, and obliterate our influence in the settlement of the vital questions certain to arise when China shall be opened to foreign commerce. (Applause.)

There is little room for fear. The farmer and the artisan in their day of prosperity still remember the impoverishment and blight of Democracy, and the Chicago platform has no allurements for them. (Applause.) Our National honor is equally secure.

The American people are neither poltroons nor pessimists, and they will not signalize the dawn of the new century by the surrender of either convictions or territory. (Applause.) Every soldier back from the islands and they are in almost every hamlet in the land, returns an advocate of their retention. Our dead are buried along the sands of Luzon, and on its soil no foreign flag shall ever salute the dawn. (Applause.)

Whatever may be in store for us in the new and unbeaten track upon which we are entering, we shall not be found "with the unlit lamp and the unlighted loin." (Applause.) Our way is new, but it is not dark. In the readjustment of world-conditions, where we must take our place with the other great nations of the earth, we shall move with caution, but not with fear. We seek only to lift up men to better things, to bless and not to destroy. (Applause.) The fathers of the Republic accepted with courage

such responsibilities as devolved upon them. The same heavens bend over us, and the same Power that shielded them will guard and protect us, for what we seek is to build still more firmly, always upon foundations of probity and of virtue, the glorious edifice of the Republic. (Applause.)

We stand at the dawn of the new century. Before it shall have reached its meridian the youngest here will have passed beyond this life or beyond the sphere of usefulness. New recruits will step into the ranks as we fall out. This very year thousands of young men will for the first time exercise the right of citizenship and cast their ballots at the National election. The safety of this Republic must ever rest in "the courage of young hearts and the vigor of a noble manhood." Youth is buoyant and hopeful. No snarling criticism, or gospel of a little America, or prophecy of despair, will find response from hearts that beat full and strong with courage and with faith, and whose creed it is that

"God's in His heaven,
All's right with the world."

Whatever else in the past has suffered change or decay, the Republican party, which for forty years has been identified with everything ennobling and uplifting in our history, was never so vital, so virile, and so vigorous as to-day. (Applause.) And the heritage we shall transmit to the new century, to the coming generation and to their children, and to their children's children, shall be a record clean and untarnished, an unquenchable faith in free institutions, an unalterable belief in the patriotism of the people, and an undying love of liberty and of country. (Applause.)

TEMPORARY OFFICERS.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—By direction of the National Committee the chairman submits the following list of temporary officers:

Secretary, Hon. Charles W. Johnson, of Minnesota.

Assistant Secretaries: John R. Malloy, of Ohio; John R. Beam, of New Jersey; Lucien Gray, of Illinois; Gardner P. Stickney, of Wisconsin; James Francis Burke, of Pennsylvania; W. B. Bauchman, of Tennessee; Warren Bigler, of Indiana; John L. Royce, of Kansas; F. S. Gaylord, of Connecticut.

Reading Clerks: Dennis E. Alward, Michigan; E. L. Lampson, Ohio; James H. Stone, Michigan.

Clerk at Chairman's Desk, Asher C. Hinds, of Maine.

Official Reporter, Milton W. Blumenberg, of Illinois.

Tally Clerks, J. Herbert Potts, of New Jersey; George R. Butlin, of Nebraska.

Messenger to Chairman, Griffin Halstead.

Messenger to Secretary, Joseph W. Young.

Mr. W. S. TAYLOR, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman I move that the recommendations of the National Republican Committee in the matter of the selection of a Secretary, Assistant Secretaries, Official Reporter, Reading Clerks, etc., be approved by the Convention.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

RULES.

Mr. SERENO E. PAYNE, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, I offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from New York submits a resolution which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That until a permanent organization is effected, this convention be governed by the rules of the last Republican National Convention.

The resolution was agreed to.

COMMITTEES.

Mr. WILLIAM J. SEWELL, of New Jersey.—I offer the resolution I send to the desk.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from New Jersey offers a resolution, which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That the roll of States and Territories be now called, and that the Chairman of each delegation announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the several committees, as follows: Permanent Organization; Rules and Order of Business; Credentials; Resolutions.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the resolution submitted by the gentleman from New Jersey.

The resolution was agreed to.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—In addition to the announcement by the chairman of each delegation, as provided by the resolution just adopted, each delegation is requested to send to the desk in writing the names of the persons selected to serve on the committees named in the resolution.

The roll of States, etc., was called.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The committees as constituted will be announced.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

HON. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR, of Ohio, Chairman.

Alabama	JAMES T. PETERSON
Arkansas	FERDINAND HAVIS
California	R. D. ROBBINS
Colorado	D. B. FAIRLEY
Connecticut	J. DEMING PERKINS
Delaware	
Florida	W. H. LUCAS
Georgia	M. C. PARKER
Idaho	GEORGE A. ROBETHAN
Illinois	JOHN J. BROWN
Indiana	CHARLES L. JEWETT
Iowa	WILLIAM McFARLANE
Kansas	S. B. ROHRER
Kentucky	H. C. HOWARD
Louisiana	L. S. CLARKE
Maine	DANIEL A. HURD
Maryland	J. EDWIN WEBSTER
Massachusetts	EVERETT C. BENTON
Michigan	LESLIE B. ROBERTSON
Minnesota	E. A. WHITFORD
Mississippi	F. W. COLLINS
Missouri	JAMES E. BIRNEY
Montana	C. W. GOODALE
Nebraska	H. RAGATZ
Nevada	R. L. FULTON
New Hampshire	THOS. N. HASTINGS
New Jersey	WM. S. HANCOCK
New York	WM. C. WALLACE
North Carolina	H. C. COWLES
North Dakota	H. L. HOLMES
Ohio	CHARLES H. GROSVENOR
Oregon	MALCOLM A. MOODY
Pennsylvania	JOHN B. STEEL
Rhode Island	FRANK F. CARPENTER
South Carolina	R. M. WALLACE
South Dakota	GEORGE RICE
Tennessee	ERNEST COLDWELL
Texas	C. M. FERGUSON
Utah	HEBER M. WELLS
Vermont	W. H. H. SLACK
Virginia	V. M. SOWDER
Washington	H. S. CONNER
West Virginia	J. E. DANA
Wisconsin	H. A. LUEDKE
Wyoming	DEFOREST RICHARDS
District of Columbia	Dr. J. E. JONES
Alaska	
Arizona	J. L. HUBBELL
Indian Territory	E. J. FANNIN
New Mexico	A. ABEYTIA
Oklahoma	JOHN McNEAL
Hawaii	S. PARKER

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

HON. HENRY H. BINGHAM, of Pennsylvania, Chairman.

Alabama	W. F. ALDRICH
Arkansas	JOHN McCLURE
California	N. D. RIDEOUT
Colorado	B. W. RITTER
Connecticut	CHAS. F. BROOKER
Delaware	
Florida	H. W. CHANDLER
Georgia	W. R. LEAKIN
Idaho	L. L. ORMSBY
Illinois	FREDERICH H. SMITH
Indiana	GEORGE P. HAYWOOD
Iowa	J. C. MABRY
Kansas	J. R. BURROW
Kentucky	R. P. ERNST
Louisiana	B. F. O'NEAL
Maine	GEORGE A. MINCHIE
Maryland	T. MATHEW BARTLETT
Massachusetts	SAMUEL W. McCALL
Michigan	WM. McPHERSON, JR.
Minnesota	H. F. BARKER
Mississippi	R. A. SIMMONS
Missouri	CHARLES G. BURTON
Montana	TYLER WORDEN
Nebraska	EUGENE A. TUCKER
Nevada	W. W. WILLIAMS
New York	GEO. W. ALDRIDGE
New Hampshire	WM. C. CLARKE
New Jersey	FLAVEL McGEE
North Carolina	R. B. RUSSELL
North Dakota	
Ohio	B. L. McELROY
Oregon	RUFUS S. MOORE
Pennsylvania	HENRY H. BINGHAM
Rhode Island	CHAS. N. CHILD
South Carolina	E. F. COCHRANE
South Dakota	M. P. BEEBE
Tennessee	JOHN E. McCALL
Texas	M. M. RODGERS
Utah	GEORGE M. HANSON
Vermont	G. W. RANDALL
Virginia	R. R. HORNER
Washington	F. J. HAYFIELD
West Virginia	M. J. SIMMS
Wisconsin	SAMUEL W. REESE
Wyoming	C. D. CLARK
District of Columbia	J. E. JONES
Alaska	WILLIAM GRANT
Arizona	J. A. VAIL
Indian Territory	C. L. LONG
New Mexico	J. SANTISTERAN
Oklahoma	J. W. McNEAL
Hawaii	A. N. KEPOIKOI

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

HON. SERENO E. PAYNE, of New York, Chairman.

Alabama.....	H. V. CASHIN
Arkansas.....	SID. B. REDDING
California.....	GEORGE W. REED
Colorado.....	JOHN GRASS
Connecticut.....	EDWIN MILNER
Delaware.....	
Florida.....	J. N. COMBS
Georgia.....	H. L. JOHNS ON
Idaho.....	J. F. AILSHIE
Illinois.....	T. J. GOLDEN
Indiana.....	C. C. SHIRLEY
Iowa.....	M. J. TOBIN
Kansas.....	T. B. WALL
Kentucky.....	GEORGE DENNY
Louisiana.....	H. C. WARMOUTH
Maine.....	ALBERT M. SPEAR
Maryland.....	ENOCH B. ABELL
Massachusetts.....	JESSE M. GOVE
Michigan.....	RUSSELL C. OSTRANDER
Minnesota.....	A. J. GREER
Mississippi.....	WESLEY CRAYTON
Missouri.....	CHARLES L. MOWDER
Montana.....	JOHN F. FORBES
Nebraska.....	JOHN A. EHRHARDT
Nevada.....	M. C. McMILLAN
New Hampshire.....	JOHN McLANE
New Jersey.....	BARKER GUMMERE
New York.....	SERENO E. PAYNE
North Carolina.....	E. C. DUNCAN
North Dakota.....	STEPHEN COLLINS
Ohio.....	CHARLES DICK
Oregon.....	WALLACE McCAMANT
Pennsylvania.....	A. S. L. SHIELDS
Rhode Island.....	RICHARD THORNLEY
South Carolina.....	J. H. FORDHAM
South Dakota.....	JAMES HALLEY
Tennessee.....	W. P. BROWNLOW
Texas.....	H. C. FERGUSON (HAWLEY by proxy)
Utah.....	ARTHUR BROWN
Vermont.....	EDWIN M. BROWN
Virginia.....	R. P. THORP
Washington.....	L. M. SIMS
West Virginia.....	MORRIS HORKHEIMER
Wisconsin.....	J. T. MURPHY
Wyoming.....	JAY L. TORREY
District of Columbia.....	W. C. CHASE
Alaska.....	W. D. GRANT
Arizona.....	FRANK DYSART
Indian Territory.....	C. M. CAMPBELL
New Mexico.....	F. A. HUBBELL
Oklahoma.....	J. C. PRINGEY
Hawaii.....	S. PARKER

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

HON. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, of Indiana, Chairman.

Alabama.....	J. W. DIMMICK
Arkansas.....	CHARLES N. RIX
California.....	CHESTER ROWELL
Colorado.....	C. C. CAVENDER
Connecticut.....	WILLIAM E. SEELEY
Delaware.....	
Florida.....	W. G. ROBINSON
Georgia.....	H. A. RUCKER
Idaho.....	W. B. HEYBURN
Illinois.....	MARTIN B. MADDEN
Indiana.....	CHAS. W. FAIRBANKS
Iowa.....	G. W. FRENCH
Kansas.....	M. A. LOWE
Kentucky.....	W. S. TAYLOR
Louisiana.....	E. KUNTZ
Maine.....	FRANKLIN C. PAYSON
Maryland.....	THOMAS C. NOYES
Massachusetts.....	WALTER CLIFFORD
Michigan.....	E. N. DINGLEY
Minnesota.....	CUSHMAN K. DAVIS
Mississippi.....	JOHN R. LYNCH
Missouri.....	DAVID P. DYER
Montana.....	THOMAS H. CARTER
Nebraska.....	EDWARD ROSEWATER
Nevada.....	OSCAR J. SMITH
New Hampshire.....	J. H. GALLINGER
New Jersey.....	FRED. P. OLCOTT
New York.....	LEMUEL E. QUIGG
North Carolina.....	CHARLES McNAMEE
North Dakota.....	P. J. McCUMBER
Ohio.....	JOSEPH B. FORAKER
Oregon.....	JOHN D. DALY
Pennsylvania.....	BOIES PENROSE
Rhode Island.....	CHAS. H. BRAYTON
South Carolina.....	E. J. DICKERSON
South Dakota.....	G. G. BENNETT
Tennessee.....	FOSTER V. BROWN
Texas.....	R. B. HAWLEY
Utah.....	GEORGE SUTHERLAND
Vermont.....	SEVANT M. REED
Virginia.....	S. BROWN ALLEN
Washington.....	J. M. ASHTON
West Virginia.....	E. H. FLYNN
Wisconsin.....	J. B. TREAT
Wyoming.....	F. W. MONDELL
District of Columbia.....	J. E. JONES
Alaska.....	J. G. HEID
Arizona.....	CHARLES H. AKERS
Indian Territory.....	A. F. PARKINSON
New Mexico.....	E. A. CAHOON
Oklahoma.....	J. R. TATE
Hawaii.....	A. N. KEPOIKOI

MEETING OF COMMITTEES.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Immediately after the adjournment to-day the Committee on Resolutions will meet in the committee room in the rear of the stage of this hall; the Committee on Permanent Organization will meet in another room in the rear of the stage of this hall; the Committee on Rules and Order of Business will meet at the National Committee room, Hotel Walton; the Committee on Credentials will meet at the National Committee room, Hotel Walton.

Mr. JOSEPH G. CANNON, of Illinois.—I move that the Convention adjourn until 12 o'clock meridian to-morrow.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Will the gentleman from Illinois withdraw his motion for a moment?

Mr. CANNON, of Illinois.—Certainly.

PRAYER OF REV. EDGAR M. LEVY, D. D.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Chair desires to state to the Convention that there is upon the platform the Rev. Dr. Levy, who 44 years ago to-day offered prayer at the Republican National Convention. The Rev. Dr. Levy will now offer prayer.

Rev. Edgar M. Levy, D. D., of Philadelphia, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, how excellent is Thy name in all the earth. The whole world is full of Thy glory. Unto Thee do we lift our hearts in humility, love and praise.

We give Thee most hearty thanks for our personal, social and national blessings. Thou hast cast our lines in pleasant places and given us a goodly heritage. Thou hast not dealt so with any other people. Because of Thy favor our land is even now smiling with fertility and beauty; our cities and towns are filled with the hum of industry, and our country places with the songs of happy reapers. Thou hast given us wise rulers, brave defenders on land and sea, and just and equal laws by which every man may sit under his own vine and fig tree with none to molest or make afraid.

We thank Thee for the coming together of this august assembly of representative men from all parts of the nation, and for that great convention held in this city so long ago, and which first flung the banner of universal freedom to the breeze of Heaven. We praise Thee, O Lord God of Hosts, that this banner still waves unstained and undimmed, the proud reminder of past achievements, and the hope for all time to come.

We thank Thee for our honored President; for his wisdom, discretion, manly courage and unblemished character. We beseech Thee that his life and health may be precious in Thy sight; and as Thou hast in Thy goodness given him to us, so, if it pleases Thee, let the years of his administration of our Government be prolonged. Bless, also, all associated with

him in authority. May they ever be found on the side of justice, loving peace, but never counting even life itself too dear to sacrifice for the defense and advancement of the nation's honor and welfare.

Save us, O Righteous Father, from forgetfulness of Thee; from all pride and vainglory. Let not the profane, the self-seeking, or the promoters of strife and discontent rule over us, but only such as shall be a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well. Let our currency neither be impaired by inflation nor diminished by hoarding. Let the rich among us use their wealth in moderation, and as a benediction to others. Let the poor, by industry and temperance, become rich. Let there never be among us an aristocracy either of color, wealth or birth, but only of intelligence and goodness. Fill our land with truth and righteousness, with school-houses and temples of worship, with God-fearing men and virtuous women. Let the example of our free institutions enlighten and bless the whole earth.

And now, we commend to Thee, O God, the deliberations of this Convention, and all the issues thereof. Bless the presiding officers with all sufficiency of wisdom and strength, and preserve all the delegates from sickness, accident and death; and permit them to return to their homes, conscious of having discharged their duty to their God and country. And the glory shall be unto the Father and unto the Son and unto the Holy Spirit, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

Mr. JOSEPH G. CANNON, of Illinois.—I renew my motion that the Convention adjourn until 12 o'clock, meridian, to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock p. m.) the Convention adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, June 20, 1900, at 12 o'clock, meridian.

THE SECOND DAY

OPENING PRAYER—RECEPTION TO SURVIVORS OF FIRST NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1856—REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS—REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION—ADDRESS OF PERMANENT CHAIRMAN, SENATOR LODGE—PRESENTATION OF GAVELS, ETC.—REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES—THE QUAY AMENDMENT—REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS AND PLATFORM—THE NEW NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

CONVENTION HALL

PHILADELPHIA, PENNA., June 20, 1900.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (at 12.27 o'clock P. M.).—The Convention will come to order. The Rev. Dr. Charles M. Boswell, of Philadelphia, will open the day's proceedings with prayer.

PRAYER OF REV. CHARLES M. BOSWELL, D. D.

Rev. Charles M. Boswell, D. D., of Philadelphia, offered the following prayer:

Our Heavenly Father, we come to Thee as the creator of men and the upholder of governments. Our fathers trusted in Thee and were helped, and where they led may we gladly and boldly follow. We thank Thee for the land in which we live, for its beloved ruler, the prosperity of its people and the victories of its army and navy. May these be abundantly continued.

We bless Thee for having brave and wise men in charge of our executive, legislative and judicial affairs in trying times. May it always be so with America.

We praise Thee for these men who have left their occupations and homes to transact business for their country by attending this Convention. May Thy special favor rest upon them. Guide them in their deliberations, platform and candidates, and may these be such as shall be approved by the people, and may they continue to keep our dear old country, whose flag we love to-day better than ever before, in the lead among those respected for righteousness, liberty and humanity.



HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts,
Permanent Chairman of the Convention, and Chairman of the Committee to
Notify the Candidate for President.

Give these delegates and their friends a healthful and pleasant stay among us and preserve their loved ones from harm while they are absent from them. Specially remember those who bear arms for us in distant lands, and hasten the day when all wars shall cease, and Thine shall be the honor and glory forever. Amen.

SURVIVORS OF FIRST REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the Convention, there are present here to-day a body of survivors of the first Republican Convention held in Pittsburg and Philadelphia forty-four years ago. They bring with them the same old flag that was then used in the Convention, and with your permission I will ask them to step to the front of the stage, and then will have read some resolutions which have been prepared. (Applause.)

At that moment a file of white-haired patriarchs appeared from the rear, bearing a faded American flag, tattered and barely held together by a cross staff. As the flag appeared the entire audience rose, and a deafening salute went up for the faded standard and its venerable upholders. The white-haired men ranged themselves side by side, looking out on the sea of faces. Alongside the flag another standard bore the inscription

*
 NATIONAL FREMONT ASSOCIATION,
 REPUBLICAN PARTY.
 ORGANIZED FEBRUARY 22D, 1856,
 AT PITTSBURG, PENN.
 *

When the applause had subsided the leader of the delegation presented resolutions, declaring their unwavering allegiance to the party they had helped to bring forth.

Those who were thus presented to the convention were the following:

General JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, Connecticut.

S. WOODARD, Illinois.

GEORGE SCHNEIDER, Illinois.

JACOB FUSSELL, Maryland.

D. F. APPLETON, New York.

Judge RUSH R. SLOANE, Ohio.

General B. D. BRINKERHOFF, Ohio.

JOHN JACOBS, Pennsylvania.

WALTER LAING, Pennsylvania.

G. W. HOLSTEIN, M. D., Pennsylvania.

EDGAR M. LEVY, D.D., Pennsylvania.

JACOB WYAND, Pennsylvania.

GEORGE H. BELL, Rhode Island.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Clerk will read the resolutions adopted by the survivors of the first Republican Convention.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

NATIONAL FREMONT ASSOCIATION.

PITTSBURG, PA., JUNE 16, 1900.

To the Republican Party
in National Convention assembled in Philadelphia,
June 19th, 1900.

In response to the invitation extended to us by the Hon. Marcus A. Hanna, Chairman of your National Committee, to be present at your convention as honorary members:

We, the survivors of the original Republican Convention held in Pittsburg, Feb. 22d, 1856, regret exceedingly the inability of many of said members to accept your kind invitation, owing to advanced age. At a meeting of the National Fremont Association held in Pittsburg, June 16th, 1900, it was resolved that Major R. H. Long, Secretary, and J. K. Conner, be instructed to represent us in your distinguished assembly. Having remained faithful to its principles for forty-four years, we shall continue the same unto the end, heartily endorsing the administration of William McKinley, which gives us such unbounded prosperity.

Yours respectfully,
GILBERT FOLLANSBEE, Chairman.
R. H. LONG, Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The first business in order is the report of the Committee on Credentials. Is the Committee ready to report?

Mr. SERENO E. PAYNE, of New York.—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I will read the report of the Committee on Credentials:

"Your Committee on Credentials beg leave to submit the following report in the matter of the seating of contested delegates:

"They met immediately after the adjournment of the session of the convention on Tuesday, the 19th, and organized by the selection of the officers of the committee. Since that time they have been in continuous session until the roll of membership was completed. Your committee reports its action in the cases before it with its recommendations.

"As to the contests in the 4th and 7th districts of Alabama, the 4th and 8th districts of Georgia, the delegates at large and the 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th districts of Louisiana; the delegates at large, and the 6th and 9th districts of Tennessee; the delegates at large and the 1st, 5th, 7th and 9th districts of Texas; the 2d Virginia and the District of Columbia, the action of the National Committee in the matter of making a temporary roll it is recommended shall be the action of the convention. Action was also taken by the Committee in the following cases, and your committee recommend that the permanent roll as to these shall be as follows:

STATE OF ALABAMA, AT LARGE.

Delegates.

B. W. WalkerMontgomery
C. W. BuckleyMontgomery

Alternates.

Nathan AlexanderMontgomery
G. W. LovejoyMobile

THIRD DISTRICT OF ALABAMA.

W. W. Milliken	Dothan	S. M. Murphy	Eufaula
Moses W. Carden	Opelika	Aaron T. Timothy.....	Union Springs

FIFTH ALABAMA.

J. L. Davis	Lafayette	L. W. Whitaker.....	Rockford
Hugh A. Carson	Haynesville	J. W. Perryman.....	Dadeville

STATE OF DELAWARE, AT LARGE.

J. Edward Addicks	Claymont	Webster Blakeley	Henry Clay
W. B. Clerk	Wilmington	Thomas E. Postles	Wilmington
James Franck Allee	Dover	D. S. Clark	Kenton
C. R. Layton	Georgetown	Newell Ball	Bridgeville
H. M. Burton	Lewes	C. M. Davis	Laurel
A. B. Conner	Felton	Theodore Townsend	Milford

FIFTH LOUISIANA DISTRICT.

W. W. Johnson.....	Omega	George W. Stewart	Omega
John W. Cooke.....	Lake Providence	J. B. Robinson	Lake Providence

FOURTH TEXAS DISTRICT.

J. A. Blackwell.	B. C. Browning.
H. G. Goree.	H. W. Walker.

SIXTH TEXAS DISTRICT.

Eugene Marshall.	G. W. McCormick.
W. E. King.	G. W. Lanier.

"A copy of the Roll of Delegates and Alternates as adopted by this committee is herewith submitted.

Respectfully submitted,

SERENO E. PAYNE, Chairman.*

ROLL OF DELEGATES

The roll of delegates and alternates above referred to is as follows:

CORRECTED ROLL OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES TO
THE TWELFTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION
AS PRESENTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

ALABAMA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

B. W. Walker	Montgomery	Nathan Alexander	Montgomery
C. W. Buckley	Montgomery	G. W. Lovejoy	Mobile

DISTRICTS.

1—P. D. Barker	Mobile	A. N. McEwen	Mobile
James Peterson	Mobile	E. H. Threep	Demopolis
2—J. W. Dimmick	Montgomery	L. J. Bryan	Montgomery
Percy W. Morris	Daphne	D. B. Pryor	Troy
3—W. W. Milliken	Dothan	S. M. Murphy	Eufaula
Moses W. Carden.....	Opelika	Aaron T. Timothy	Union Springs

ALABAMA—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

4—Wm. F. Aldrich	Aldrich	L. T. Smith	Anniston
Charles W. Smith	Selma	Lytton Green	Anniston
5—J. L. Davis	Lafayette	L. W. Whitaker	Rockford
Hugh A. Carson	Haynesville	J. W. Perryman	Dadeville
6—P. M. Long	Cordova	S. L. Whatley	Tuscaloosa
Thomas B. Morton	Fayette	W. H. Chapman	Eutaw
7—Frank H. Lathrop	Riverside	C. E. Sneed	Boaz
John T. Ezzell	Russellville	R. B. Thompson	Cullman
8—H. V. Cashin	Huntsville	Felix McWilliams	Elkmont
Fred. Arn	Scottsboro	S. P. Merrill	Florence
9—J. W. Hughes	Birmingham	G. G. Walker	Perry
Ad. Wimbs	Greensboro	H. D. Davidson	Bibb

ARKANSAS.

AT LARGE.

John McClure	Little Rock	Chas. H. Newell	Fordyce
Charles N. Rix	Hot Springs	Patrick Raleigh	Little Rock
Ferd Havis	Pine Bluff	R. C. Thompson	Pine Bluff
S. A. Duke	Baxter	T. J. Sharum	Walnut Ridge

DISTRICTS.

1—J. W. Grubbs	New Port	W. W. Harrison	Ebony
E. C. Morris	Helena	J. H. Blount	Forrest City
2—Charles D. Greaves	Hot Springs	W. W. Bailey	Ft. Smith
Oscar M. Spellman	Pine Bluff	S. W. Dawson	Fairfield
3—Floyd Thompson	Texarkana	J. C. Russell	Camden
Henry Thane	Arkansas City	M. M. Murray	New Lewisville
4—Sid. B. Redding	Little Rock	M. H. Johnson	Little Rock
J. P. Robinson	Little Rock	John W. White	Russellville
5—Charles M. Greene	Harrison	J. M. Jernigan	Green Forest
J. F. Henley	Marshall	J. F. Mayes	Fayetteville
6—J. M. McClintock	Devall Bluff	W. N. Carpenter	DeWitt
G. W. Chase	Yellville	H. H. Cole	Beebe

CALIFORNIA.

AT LARGE.

U. S. Grant	San Diego	H. G. W. Dinklespiel	San Francisco
George C. Pardee	Oakland	E. S. Babcock	San Diego
George A. Knight	San Francisco	A. Bouvier	San Francisco
N. D. Rideout	Marysville	W. R. Porter	Watsonville

DISTRICTS.

1—Douglas S. Cone	Red Bluff	J. N. Roberts	Potter Valley
John L. Childs	Crescent City	J. H. Steves	St. Helena
2—E. C. Hart	Sacramento	J. W. Wilson	Sacramento
Harold T. Power	Michigan Bluff	E. C. Voorheis	Sutter Creek
3—George W. Reed	Oakland	A. P. Leach	Oakland
R. D. Robbins	Suisun	A. A. Thayer	Colusa
4—Joseph S. Spear	San Francisco	A. Ruef	San Francisco
Moses A. Gunst	San Francisco	Henry P. Sonntag	San Francisco
5—W. C. Van Fleet	San Francisco	G. M. Bowman	San Jose
H. G. Bond	Santa Clara	Edward D. Peixotto	San Francisco
6—William M. Garland	Los Angeles	E. Henderson	Pomona
Andrew J. Bell	Ventura	Warren M. Johns	San Luis Obispo
7—Chester Rowell	Fresno	C. E. Arnold	Bakersfield
William S. Hooper	San Bernardino	J. L. Paul	Ontario

COLORADO.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Edward O. Wolcott	Denver	Harry E. Churchill	Greeley
David H. Moffat	Denver	Earl B. Coe	Denver
Winfield S. Stratton.....	Colorado Springs	Crawford Hill	Denver
D. R. C. Brown.....	Aspen	B. W. Ritter	Durango

DISTRICTS.

1—Charles C. Cavender	Leadville	William K. Burchinell.....	Denver
John B. Thompson.....	Longmont	Thomas H. Davy.....	Ft. Collins
2—D. B. Fairley.....	Colorado Springs	Richard P. Chinn	Dumont
John Grass	Trinidad	George R. Hurlburt	Ouray

CONNECTICUT.

AT LARGE.

Linus B. Plimpton	Hartford	Wm. C. Cheney.....	South Manchester
Charles F. Brooker	Ansonia	Samuel P. Calef	Middletown
Edwin Milner	Plainfield	Frank B. Brandegee.....	New London
J. Deming Perkins.....	Litchfield	R. Jay Walsh	Greenwich

DISTRICTS.

1—Andrew J. Sloper	New Britain	Isadore Wise	Hartford
Francis G. Maxwell.....	Rockville	Edward E. Fuller	Tolland
2—William F. Rockwell.....	Meriden	Frederick E. Gaylord	Ansonia
Mathewson W. Potter.....	Deep River	J. B. Holman.....	Old Saybrook
3—Frederick Farnsworth....	New London	F. H. Hinkley.....	Mystic
George A. Hammond.....	Putnam	Charles N. Daniels.....	Willimantic
4—Henry H. Bridgman.....	Norfolk	R. J. Plumb.....	Plymouth
William E. Seeley	Bridgeport	John R. Hill	Danbury

DELAWARE.

AT LARGE.

J. Edward Addicks	Claymont	Webster Blakeley	Henry Clay
W. B. Clerk	Wilmington	Thomas E. Postles	Wilmington
James Franck Allee	Dover	D. S. Clark	Kenton
C. R. Layton	Georgetown	Newell Ball	Bridgeville
H. M. Burton	Lewes	C. M. Davis	Laurel
A. B. Conner	Felton	Theodore Townsend	Milford

FLORIDA.

AT LARGE.

Joseph E. Lee	Jacksonville	W. H. Lucas	Jacksonville
John G. Long	St. Augustine	S. H. Hadley	Lake City
Henry S. Chubb.....	Winter Park	R. L. Scarlett.....	Orange Hill
Mark S. White	Pensacola	A. Purdee	Marianna

DISTRICTS.

1—James N. Coombs	Apalachicola	M. A. Trapp	Quincy
John F. Horr	Jacksonville	G. W. Raiford	Pensacola
2—Walter G. Robinson	Gainesville	James Atkinson	De Land
Henry W. Chandler	Ocala	P. N. Richardson	Fernandina

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

GEORGIA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

W. H. Johnson	Columbus	Alex. Akerman	Dublin
H. A. Rucker	Atlanta	L. M. Pleasant	Savannah
J. W. Lyons	Augusta	A. Graves	Atlanta
H. L. Johnson	Atlanta	T. M. Dent	Rome

DISTRICTS.

1—John H. Deveaux	Savannah	S. O. Cherry	Waynesborough
W. R. Leaken	Savannah	S. B. Morse	Savannah
2—W. H. Satterwhite	Albany	S. S. Broadnax	Thomasville
James L. Reddick	Dawson	E. B. Brown	Tifton
3—M. G. Hall	Cordele	C. H. Moore	Jeffersonville
J. T. Noble	Perry	P. C. Cooley	Hawkinsville
4—E. N. Clemence	Columbus	H. A. Poer	Hamilton
Samuel Loveloy	Bullochville	J. B. Richardson	Hogansville
5—E. F. Blodgett	Atlanta	L. L. Lee	Atlanta
C. C. Wimbish	Atlanta	N. H. Sims	Conyers
6—R. D. Locke	Macon	J. A. Smith	Forsythe
I. W. Wood	Forsythe	W. E. Harp	Jackson
7—J. J. Hamilton	Rome	D. C. Cole	Marietta
M. C. Parker	Rome	J. W. Leigh	Etna
8—W. A. Pledger	Athens	E. W. Howell	Eatonton
M. B. Morton	Athens	W. M. Matthews	Lexington
9—J. R. Allen	Talking Rock	C. E. Williams	Winder
H. D. Ingersoll	Dahlonega	M. C. Wilcox	Mt. Airy
10—A. E. Williams	Gordon	John T. White	Augusta
P. H. Craig	Augusta	A. G. Floyd	Sandersville
11—W. H. Matthews	Brunswick	J. M. Milton	Waycross
Clark Grier	Dublin	S. S. Mincey	Ailey

IDAHO.

George L. Shoup	Boise City	H. B. Eastman	Boise City
W. B. Heyburn	Osborn	D. H. Budlong	Coeur d'Alene City
J. F. Ailshie	Grangeville	Mrs. J. B. West	Lewiston
L. L. Ormsby	Boise City	Lewis Hall	Weiser
Frank R. Gooding	Shoshone	F. C. Bradley	Hailey
George A. Robethan	Pocatello	D. W. Church	Pocatello

ILLINOIS.

AT LARGE.

Joseph G. Cannon	Danville	C. H. Castle	Adair
John J. Brown	Vandalia	H. W. Jameson	Chicago
John M. Smyth	Chicago	Norman H. Moss	Mt. Vernon
H. D. Judson	Aurora	Maurice Rosenfield	Chicago

DISTRICTS.

1—Martin B. Madden	Chicago	Nicholas Birkhoff	Chicago
Henry G. Foreman	Chicago	A. L. Williams	Chicago
2—William Lorimer	Chicago	D. M. Ball	Norwood Park
Charles S. Deneen	Chicago	E. B. Bliss	Riverside
3—Frank O. Lowden	Chicago	Wm. J. Cook	Chicago
E. J. Magerstadt	Chicago	Hester Duranti	Chicago
4—Christopher Mamer	Chicago	John Dwyer	Chicago
D. W. Clark	Chicago	James J. Banks	Chicago

ILLINOIS—*Continued.**Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

5—Louis D. Sitts	Chicago	Winfield S. McCoy	Chicago
Ephram Banning	Chicago	James S. Burke	Chicago
6—Graeme Stewart	Chicago	F. A. Haggerty	Chicago
Bernard E. Sunny	Chicago	Charles Probst	Chicago
7—David S. McMullen	Evanston	W. M. McEwen	Chicago
Fred L. Wilk	Chicago	Geo. W. Turner	Ft. Sheridan
8—Isaac L. Ellwood	De Kalb	John R. Marshall	Yorkville
John Stewart	Elburn	W. W. Sherwin	Elgin
9—L. W. Mitchell	Dixon	Richard Barrett	Galena
John M. Rhinewalt	Mt. Carroll	M. E. Schryver	Polo
10—F. C. Rice	Galesburg	B. F. Knox	Rock Island
Charles H. Deere	Moline	Samuel White	Lafayette
11—John C. Ames	Streator	A. J. Boydon	Sheffield
Con. Brown	Wyanet	J. W. Wilcox	Minonk
12—John Lambert	Joliet	Chas. A. Noble	Joliet
Hamilton K. Wheeler	Kankakee	P. E. Larson	Watseka
13—J. H. Rowell	Bloomington	T. H. McCartney	Monticello
J. P. Middlecoff	Paxton	Thomas Lyons	Arcola
14—Frederick H. Smith	Peoria	D. C. White	Mason
U. W. Wilson	Minonk	L. H. Durley	Putnam
15—W. S. Warfield	Quincy	Rans Cooper	Oquawka
Everett E. Hardin	Monmouth	Geo. Curry	Mt. Sterling
16—J. G. Pope	Greenfield	W. H. Stewart	Carlinville
Charles A. E. Martin	Virginia	J. R. Robertson	Jacksonville
17—Loren C. Wheeler	Springfield	E. C. Perkins	Lincoln
W. C. Johns	Decatur	J. C. McQuigg	Pana
18—George W. Hewett	Alton	Geo. R. Copper	Hillsboro
W. G. Cochran	Sullivan	P. M. Johnston	St. Elmo
19—T. J. Golden	Marshall	R. S. Dyas	Paris
T. A. Fritchie	Olney	H. G. Vanzandt	Montrose
20—Orlando Burrell	Carmi	Anthony Spaeth	Mt. Carmel
L. L. Emerson	Mt. Vernon	Thomas S. Williams	Louisville
21—Charles Becker	Bellefonte	R. C. Aderly	Chester
Julius Huegely	Nashville	Henry H. Anderson	Du Quain
22—P. T. Chapman	Vienna	O. J. Page	Metropolis
Thomas John, Jr.	Murphysboro	Chas. L. Rice	Mound City

INDIANA.

AT LARGE.

Charles W. Fairbanks	Indianapolis	Nathan Powell	Madison
A. J. Beveridge	Indianapolis	Wm. Amsden	Marion
James A. Mount	Indianapolis	Thomas H. Adams	Vincennes
Charles S. Hernley	Indianapolis	Gurley Brewer	Indianapolis

DISTRICTS.

1—Walter M. Schmitt	Evansville	Elder Cooper	Evansville
Sylvester Thompson	Petersburg	S. C. Dickson	Mt. Vernon
2—Job Freeman	Linton	John B. Loyd	Shoals
Albert H. Davis	Bedford	Wm. S. Mead	Spencer
3—Charles L. Jewett	New Albany	A. L. Fisher	Scottsburg
Eugene Cummings	Cannelton	Jas. R. Pro	English
4—Arthur Overstreet	Columbus	John P. Thompson	Greensburg
William P. Masters	Seymour	Wm. Wingate	Batesville
5—Quincy A. Blankenship	Martinsville	Frank J. Singleton	Martinsville

INDIANA—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICTS.

George M. Allen	Terre Haute
6—Charles F. Jones	Brookville
Joshua Davis	Liberty
7—Harry B. Gates	Indianapolis
Robert Metzger	Indianapolis
8—Charles Kimbrough	Muncie
Grant Lupton	Hartford City
9—James L. Allen	Covington
William Craig	Noblesville
10—George P. Haywood	Lafayette
Murray A. Turner	Hammond
11—C. C. Shirley	Kokomo
Will H. Hart	Huntington
12—Albert C. Robins	Auburn
Charles Nichols	Lima
13—John D. Widaman	Warsaw
Rome C. Stephenson	Rochester

Otto C. Carr	Terre Haute
Benj. F. Koons	New Castle
Chas. K. Bruner	Greenfield
Wm. Kothe	Indianapolis
Lew. W. Cooper	Indianapolis
Frank Braden	Portland
Cassius M. Greenlee	Elkwood
Geo. T. Dinwiddie	Frankfort
W. H. Marker	Tipton
Wm. B. Austin	Rensselaer
Warren T. McCray	Kentland
A. C. Alexander	Marion
Ed. Bridges	Wabash
John F. Criswell	Churubusco
Harry K. Scott	Angola
Wm. Hendricks	Plymouth
Saml. I. Brown	Winamac

IOWA.

AT LARGE.

Leslie M. Shaw	Denison
Lafayette Young	Des Moines
George W. French	Davenport
J. H. Smith	Cedar Rapids

Chas. M. Junkin	Fairfield
F. M. Epperson	Eddyville
E. G. Penrose	Tama
T. E. Purcell	Hampton

DISTRICTS.

1—J. Elerick	Keosauqua
Warren Beckwith	Mt. Pleasant
2—J. N. W. Rumble	Marengo
W. L. Roach	Muscatine
3—C. E. Allbrook	Eldora
C. R. Ransier	Independence
4—E. O. Worder	Floyd
J. J. Marsh	Eldora
5—M. J. Tobin	Vinton
E. M. Sargent	Grundy Center
6—C. M. Hinsdale	Newton
John A. Dunn	Bloomfield
7—W. O. Payne	Nevada
H. C. Schamel	Dallas Center
8—William Eaton	Sidney
J. C. Mabry	Centerville
9—John A. Storey	Greenfield
Asmus Boysen	Gray
10—J. E. Allen	Laurens
J. L. Stevens	Boone
11—William McFarlane	Blencoe
W. H. Lyon, Jr.	Peterson

A. B. Anderson	Washington
J. B. Morrison	Ft. Madison
W. F. Main	Iowa City
David Brant	Clinton
H. L. Rann	Manchester
F. J. Will	Eagle Grove
B. W. Newberry	Strawberry Point
A. H. Gale	Mason City
E. C. McMillan	Marshalltown
T. R. Ercanbrack	Anamosa
George H. Woodson	Oskaloosa
Ed. A. Canning	Albia
R. N. Hyde	Des Moines
J. R. Thompson	Earlham
W. S. Richards	Osceola
J. S. Clark	Prescott
W. W. Ellis	Villisca
C. R. Benedict	Shelby
D. J. Townsend	Lohrville
Wm. Anderson	Webster City
B. T. French	Hawarden
Fred. Morton	Sibley

KANSAS.

AT LARGE.

M. A. Low	Topeka
B. H. Tracy	Topeka
E. W. Wellington	Ellsworth

A. D. Walker	Holton
J. J. Mitchell	Esckridge
Frank Strain	Phillipsburg

KANSAS—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Frank L. Martin	Hutchinson	G. W. Nimocks	Great Bend
W. S. Metcalf	Lawrence	George Ford	Ft. Scott
F. A. DuBois	Howard	O. F. Lewis	Hepler

DISTRICTS.

1—R. M. Emery	Seneca	F. W. Willard	Leavenworth
Jno. Seaton	Atchison	Melville H. Soper	Hiawatha
2—W. G. Holt	Kansas City	J. H. Ransom	Ottawa
Grant Hornaday	Ft. Scott	H. F. Blaker	Mount City
3—R. N. Allen	Chanute	W. H. Upton	Arkansas City
J. T. Bradley	Sedan	P. P. Campbell	Pittsburg
4—S. B. Rohrer	Le Roy	T. M. Potter	Peabody
Frank Hunsicker	Osage City	G. Nagle	Eureka
5—J. R. Burton	Abilene	S. T. Yoder	Washington
W. W. Caldwell	Concordia	W. D. Houston	Ottawa
6—J. R. Burrows	Smith Center	R. R. Hayes	Osborne
D. J. Hanna	Hill City	W. H. Mitchell	Beloit
7—T. B. Wall	Wichita	A. Sabine	Garden City
H. F. Millikan	Santa Fe	Wm. Dixon	St. John

KENTUCKY.

AT LARGE.

W. S. Taylor	Frankfort	John R. Kelday	Louisville
W. O. Bradley	Lancaster	W. T. Morrow	Sheperdsville
George Denny	Lexington	James A. Wallace	Irvine
W. A. Gaines	Covington	Charles R. Logan	Grayson

DISTRICTS.

1—John C. Gates	Princeton	D. C. Tackett	Wickliffe
W. H. McRidley	Cadiz	J. T. Stephens	Hickman
2—E. T. Franks	Owensboro	H. S. Smith	Hopkinsville
W. P. Ross	Madisonville	D. W. Thornberry	Pool
3—E. U. Fordyce	Bowling Green	George L. Barnes	Frankfort
Jefferson Vallandigham ..	Russelville	William W. Wilson	Bowling Green
4—M. L. Heavrin	Hartford	John R. Eskridge	Hardinsburg
George W. Long	Litchfield	John B. Weller	Bardstown
5—Charles E. Sapp	Louisville	R. I. James	Louisville
T. H. Baker	Louisville	Alf. W. Davis	Louisville
6—Richard P. Ernst	Covington	Benedict S. Landram	Warsaw
Frank S. McMillin	Palmouth	Henry C. Morgan	Cordovia
7—R. P. Stoll	Lexington	W. E. Foster	Owensten
H. C. Howard	Paris	Charles E. Nason	Frankfort
8—Daniel R. Collier	Lancaster	Jesse B. Kincheloe	Taylorsville
Thomas J. Ballard	Lawrenceburg	John T. Ballard	Shelbyville
9—George W. Armstrong	Grayson	A. M. Earle	Berry
Horace J. Cochran	Maysville	William Riffe	Louisa
10—John W. Langly	Prestonburg	Thomas S. Kirk	Paintsville
James M. Owens	Tulip	James Eversole	Jackson
11—James A. Coleman	Somerset	D. C. Edwards	London
John B. Hurst	Harlan	T. S. Scott	Burksville

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

LOUISIANA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Henry C. Warmouth	New Orleans	Wm. E. Ramsey	Lake Charles
Lewis S. Clark	St. Marys	Edward Godchaux	New Orleans
Thomas J. Woodward	New Orleans	Wm. E. Howell	Thibodaux
Joseph E. Le Blanc	New Orleans	Chas. A. Bourgeois	Hahnville

DISTRICTS.

1—Walter L. Cohen	New Orleans	Octave Ray	New Orleans
Charles W. Boothby	New Orleans	W. J. Moore	New Orleans
2—Emile Kuntz	New Orleans	Eugene F. R. Augustus	New Orleans
Ernest Duconge	New Orleans	Wm. H. Williams	New Orleans
3—Julius Godchaux	New Orleans	Gus. A. Breux	Lafayette
William J. Behan	White Castle	A. Deuperrier	Iberia
4—B. F. O'Neal	Benton	I. H. Bell	Shreveport
F. M. Welsh	Alexandria	S. H. Ralph	Alexandria
5—W. A. Johnson	Omega	George W. Stewart	Omega
John W. Cook	Lake Providence	J. B. Robinson	Lake Providence
6—L. J. Souer	Mandeville	Geo. J. Reilley	Clinton
B. V. Baranco	Baton Rouge	Henry Erlich	Bayou Chicot

MAINE.

AT LARGE.

Sidney M. Bird	Rockland	Harry B. Austin	Phillips
Joseph H. Manley	Augusta	Benjamin S. Higgins	Eden
George W. Norton	Portland	Emery Andrews	Kennebunk
George A. Murchie	Calais	Flavius O. Beal	Bangor

DISTRICTS.

1—Franklin C. Payson	Portland	Woodbury K. Dana	Westbrook
Daniel A. Hurd	North Berwick	Charles W. Smith	Waterboro
2—Waldo Pettingill	Rumford Falls	Edwin Riley	Livermore Falls
Henry B. Estes	Lewiston	L. X. Campbell	Rockland
3—Albert M. Spear	Gardiner	R. G. Henderson	Madison
Albert Pierce	Frankfort	Henry W. Sargent	Sedgwick
4—Frederick H. Parkhurst	Bangor	Atwood W. Spaulding	Caribou
Wainwright Cushing	Foxcroft	Frank L. Shaw	Machias

MARYLAND.

AT LARGE.

Louis E. McComas	Hagerstown	Geo. D. Day	Glenelg
Sydney E. Mudd	Laplata	Reese Pitcher	Baltimore
William E. Malster	Baltimore	H. S. Cummings	Baltimore
Phillips L. Goldsborough	Cambridge	D. W. Young	Annapolis

DISTRICTS.

1—Thomas M. Bartlett	Easton	Thomas N. Conway	Berlin
B. Frank Lankford	Princess Ann	Marion A. Humphreys	Salisbury
2—George E. Baughman	Westminster	P. Leslie Hopper	Havre de Grace
J. Edwin Webster	Belair	Chas. M. Short	Baltimore
3—George R. Heffner	Baltimore	Levi A. Thompson	Baltimore
William F. Airey	Baltimore	William Griffith	Baltimore
4—S. T. Addison	Baltimore	B. L. Turner	Baltimore
J. T. Bradford	Baltimore	C. E. West	Baltimore
5—Enoch B. Able		James A. Caulk	Baltimore
W. G. Frick		James Mars	Elkridge Landing
6—Thomas C. Noyes	Rockville	Harry T. Mullin	Cumberland
D. C. Winebrenner	Frederick	Abraham C. Strite	Hagerstown

MASSACHUSETTS.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Henry C. Lodge	Nahant	George R. Jewett	Salem
Samuel W. McCall	Winchester	Henry P. Field	Northampton
William B. Plunkett	Adams	Samuel E. Courtney	Boston
Walter Clifford	New Bedford	Alfred E. Rose	Lowell

DISTRICTS.

1—Francis W. Rockwell	Pittsfield	C. S. Shattuck	Hatfield
Dana Malone	Greenfield	Nathan B. Wood	North Adams
2—Henry M. Phillips	Springfield	Norman P. Wood	Northfield
Richard W. Irwin	Northampton	Almond Smith	Athol
3—Matthew J. Whittall	Worcester	John E. Lancaster	Worcester
George R. Marble	Webster	Silas E. Wheelock	Uxbridge
4—Arthur H. Lowe	Fitchburg	W. H. Chase	Leominster
Charles C. Bancroft	Natick	Walter Howard	Clinton
5—Arthur G. Pollard	Lowell	Enoch Foster	Tewksbury
E. Frank Lewis	Lawrence	George H. Poor	Andover
6—Joseph N. Peterson	Salem	Levi L. H. Taylor	Haverhill
Walter B. Hopkinson	Newburyport	Solomon Jacobs	Gloucester
7—Alfred E. Cox	Malden	Charles Bruce	Everett
George N. Swallow	Boston	Charles C. Fry	Lynn
8—Stillman F. Kelley	Cambridge	J. Mott Hallowell	Medford
Franklin E. Huntress	Somerville	Henry F. Strout	Boston
9—Jesse M. Gove	Boston	Charles A. Grant	Winthrop
William W. Campbell	Boston	Marcus C. Cook	Boston
10—John Shaw	Quincy	Charles B. Woolley	Boston
John H. Colby	Boston	Geo. B. Pierce	Milton
11—Everett C. Benton	Belmont	William W. Davis	Boston
M. J. Murray	Boston	Clifford A. Cook	Milford
12—George E. Keith	Brockton	Amos A. Lawrence	Cohasset
Alfred B. Williams	Taunton	Charles J. Mercer	Bridgewater
13—Hugo A. Dubuque	Fall River	Otis Foss	Cottage City
Chester Snow	Harwich	Emanuel Sallavou	New Bedford

MICHIGAN.

AT LARGE.

Frank J. Hecker	Detroit	Albert S. Glasgow	Jackson
Delos A. Blodgett	Grand Rapids	Herbert F. Sands	Pentwater
William McPherson, Jr.	Howell	William Barie	Saginaw
William E. Parnall	Calumet	John N. McCall	Ithaca

DISTRICTS.

1—August Marxhausen	Detroit	John H. Carstens	Detroit
William Livingstone	Detroit	Jacob J. Haarer	Detroit
2—Charles L. Edwards	Carleton	Jerome H. Bishop	Wyandotte
Leslie B. Robertson	Adrian	Charles H. Smith	Jackson
3—Edward N. Dingley	Kalamazoo	Albert A. Dorrence	Coldwater
George E. Howes	Battle Creek	Fred. A. Roethlisberger	Allen
4—George E. Bardeen	Otsego	Martin E. Aulsbrook	Sturgis
George M. Valentine	Benton Harbor	Julius O. Becraft	Dowagiac
5—Henry Spring	Grand Rapids	Peter McPherson	Vergennes
Brinton F. Hall	Belding	Benjamin A. Mulder	Holland
6—Frederick W. Higgins	Woodmere	Jacob Kanouse	Byron
Russell C. Ostrander	Lansing	Earl F. Johnson	Flint
7—John E. Wallace	Port Austin	Watson Beach	Lexington
Charles F. Moore	St. Clair	Joseph Walsh	Port Huron

MICHIGAN—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

8—Ralph Loveland	Saginaw	Hiram M. High	Ovid
Harvey B. McLaughlin	Vernon	Fred Slocum	Caro
9—Earl Fairbanks	Luther	Archibald F. Bunting	Empire
A. Oren Wheeler	Manistee	George E. Hilton	Fremont
10—Edward F. Loud	AuSable	Floyd L. Post	Midland
Victor D. Sprague	Cheboygan	John Walsh	West Bay City
11—Ren Barker	Reed City	John R. Tennant	Lake City
Wm. H. C. Mitchell.....	Traverse City	Addis Albro	Mount Pleasant
12—Murray M. Duncan	Ishpeming	Robert H. Shields	Houghton
Thomas F. Cole	Ironwood	Sanford M. Deutcher	Newberry

MINNESOTA.

AT LARGE.

Cushman K. Davis	St. Paul	Kenneth Clark	St. Paul
Knute Nelson	Alexandria	J. Frank Wheaton	Minneapolis
Thomas Lowry	Minneapolis	David N. Tallman	Willmar
Samuel Lord	Kasson	W. W. Sivright	Hutchinson

DISTRICTS.

1—Allen J. Greer	Lake City	M. B. Chadwick	Owatonna
E. K. Roverud	Caledonia	W. A. Morin	Albert Lea
2—George Fitzsimmons	Canby	Jas. H. Quinn	Fairmont
J. R. Lankard	Redwood Falls	S. D. Bedford	Bushmore
3—E. A. Whitford	Hastings	R. R. Stoner	Winthrop
Albert G. Stoddard	Fairfax	Henry R. Diessner	Waconia
4—H. F. Barker	Cambridge	George H. Newbert	Mora
Fred. C. Schiffman	St. Paul	Benjamin F. Knauff	St. Paul
5—Thomas H. Shevlin	Minneapolis	Henry G. Hicks	Minneapolis
Sever E. Olson	Minneapolis	E. B. Zier	Minneapolis
6—A. F. Ferris	Brainerd	I. A. Caswell	Anoka
J. J. Ecklund	Duluth	J. A. Oldenberg	Sturgeon Lake
7—H. L. Melgaard	Argyle	S. A. Thomas	Ortonville
Ray W. Jones	Frazee	Howard Dykeman	Breckenridge

MISSISSIPPI.

AT LARGE.

M. A. Montgomery	Oxford	F. D. McIntosh	Okolona
John R. Lynch	Natchez	Thomas Richardson	Port Gibson
James Hill	Jackson	R. D. Littlejohn	Columbus
H. C. Turley	Natchez	W. E. Mollison	Vicksburg

DISTRICTS.

1—W. F. Elgin	Corinth	W. B. Elliot	Tupelo
A. C. Shannon	Shannon	J. H. Parker	Aberdeen
2—John S. Burton	Holly Springs	John D. Taylor	Como Plant
Geo. M. Buchanan	Holly Springs	John W. Love	Miller
3—Wesley Crayton	Vicksburg	L. Waldeur	Greenville
Sam. P. Hurst	Clarksdale	A. B. Grimes	Avondale
4—William D. Frazee	Okolona	J. H. Carr	Coffeeville
W. E. Mask	Winona	G. W. Meacham	West Point
5—J. W. Smith	Meridian	W. J. Price	Meridian
R. A. Simmons	Richland	C. A. Buchanan	Kosciusko
6—Frederick W. Collins	Summit	Thomas I. Keyes	Ocean Spring
John P. Walworth	Bay St. Louis	L. G. Piernas	Bay St. Louis
7—G. E. Matthews	Eva	E. C. Yellowley	Jackson
R. O. Edwards	Jackson	S. S. Matthews	Hazlehurst

MISSOURI.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Daniel M. Houser	St. Louis	O. M. Wood	St. Louis
David P. Dyer	St. Louis	Louis Wood	Kansas City
James L. Minnis	Carrollton	J. C. Chastine	Kansas City
Charles G. Burton	Nevada	H. H. Walker	St. Joseph

DISTRICTS.

1—Thos. B. Morris	Hannibal	W. B. Rowland	Bevier
Thos. J. Dockery	Kirksville	A. A. Logan	Glenwood
2—J. L. Nichols	Trenton	Charles R. Pattison	Carrollton
A. C. Pettijohn	Brookfield	J. W. Stigall	Cairo
3—James E. Goodrich	Cameron	John E. Schooler	Grant City
Chas. L. Mowder	Braymer	Wm. Channell	Stanberry
4—Chas. J. Borden	St. Joseph	Robert P. McGeehan	Plattsburg
Daniel W. Porter	Mound City	Robert M. Stevenson	Tarkio
5—Walter S. Dickey	Kansas City	W. W. Harnden	Kansas City
Daniel Hoefer	Higginsville	H. M. Gerhart	Kansas City
6—Jas. T. Burney	Harrisonville		
W. Y. McLemore	Everton		
7—Frank D. Roberts	Springfield	Geo. N. Richards	Warsaw
Wm. S. Shirk	Sedalia	Edw. A. Remley	Columbia
8—J. F. Gemlich	Boonville	John W. Moore	California
R. S. Harvey	Eldon	Chas. H. Schubert	Richland
9—J. B. Garber	Warrenton	Silas O. Osterhaut	Center
Theo. Bruere	St. Charles	Wm. T. Aydelott	Troy
10—Henry Ziegenheim	St. Louis	Charles Kratz	St. Louis
Emil Dosenbach	Clayton	J. H. Fisher	Sullivan
11—Theo. D. Kalbfell	St. Louis	Wm. J. Broecker	St. Louis
Geo. J. Kobusch	St. Louis	John G. Brinkmeyer	St. Louis
12—Charles Schweickardt	St. Louis	Fred H. Smith	St. Louis
John B. Owen	St. Louis	John W. Wheeler	St. Louis
13—B. B. Cahoon	Fredericktown	George Gilbert	Marshfield
E. C. Steele	Hartville	A. H. Cashion	Perryville
14—M. E. Leming	Cape Girardeau	Jesse Tollerton	Forsyth
Guy T. Harrison	Gainesville	Henry M. Smith	Marble Hill
15—C. U. Shartel	Nevada	J. H. Spencer	Joplin
Arthur H. Spencer	Joplin	J. O. St. John	Lamar

MONTANA.

Thomas H. Carter	Helena	Wilbur F. Sanders	Helena
Henry Dion	Glendive	John F. Hendricks	Hamilton
Tyler Worden	Missoula	Milton L. Davidson	Dillon
John F. Forbes	Butte	Joseph R. McKay	Miles City
David E. Folsom	White Sulphur Springs	William Lindsay	Glendive
Charles W. Goodale	Great Falls	Willis A. Hedges	Yale

NEBRASKA.

AT LARGE.

John M. Thurston	Omaha	Norris Brown	Kearney
Edward Rosewater	Omaha	H. C. Baird	Niobrara
John H. McClay	Lincoln	C. W. Kaley	Red Cloud
John A. Ehrhardt	Stanton	M. R. Snodgrass	West Point

NEBRASKA—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

1—Geo. W. Spurlock	Plattsmouth	R. C. Boyd	South Auburn
E. A. Tucker	Humboldt	J. W. Worl	Sterling
2—Wm. F. Gurley	Omaha	C. E. Hoover	Papillion
Ed. J. Cornish	Omaha	F. H. Claridge	Blair
3—Henry Ragatz	Columbus	N. W. Wells	Schuyler
Jno. D. Haskell	Wakefield	Nelson Grimsley	Wayne
4—Alex. Lavery	Ashland	E. L. King	Osceola
C. B. Rogers	Wymore	N. V. Harlan	York
5—O. A. Abbott.....	Grand Island	Edward Updike	Harvard
G. L. Day	Superior	C. A. Luce	Republican City
6—Geo. B. Darr	Lexington	James L. McIntosh	Sidney
E. J. Davenport	Valentine	M. L. Fries	Arcadia

NEVADA.

AT LARGE.

Milo C. McMillan	Virginia City	John S. Craig	Yerington
Patrick L. Flanigan	Reno	P. M. Bowler	Hawthorne

DISTRICTS.

James P. Woodbury	Carson City	T. L. Franklin	Gardnerville
Oscar J. Smith	Reno	I. C. C. Whitmore	Eureka
Warren W. Williams	Stillwater	O. H. Grey	Carson City
Robert L. Fulton	Reno	A. Bruce	Elko

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

AT LARGE.

Jacob L. Gallinger	Concord	Charles W. Hoitt	Nashua
Frank Jones	Portsmouth	Alfred F. Howard	Portsmouth
William C. Clark	Manchester	A. Crosby Kennett	Conway
Thomas N. Hastings	Walpole	Frederic A. Faulkner	Keene

DISTRICTS.

1—Fred. A. Palmer	Manchester	Ellsworth H. Rollins	Alton
Albert Wallace	Rochester	Rufus E. Graves	Newfields
2—Frank P. Brown	Whitefield	James M. Lavin	Berlin
John McLane	Milford	Edwin C. Hitchcock	Newport

NEW JERSEY.

AT LARGE.

William J. Sewell	Camden	Henry J. Irick	Bordentown
Foster M. Voorhees	Elizabeth	Jno. I. Blair Reiley	Phillipsburgh
Franklin Murphy	Newark	Robert Williams	Paterson
Barker Gummere, Jr.	Trenton	Edward W. Wooley	Jersey City

DISTRICTS.

1—William J. Bradley	Camden	Morris Davis	Bridgeton
John M. Moore	Clayton	Lucius E. Hires	Salem
2—Wm. S. Hancock	Trenton	C. Edward Murray	Trenton
Samuel W. Beldon	Bordentown	Lewis T. Bryant	Atlantic City
3—Oliver H. Brown....	N. Spring Lake	George S. Tice	Perth Amboy
Frederick P. Olcott	Bernardsville	Andrew H. Church	South River
4—Nathan H. Hart	Newton	Charles N. Reading	Frenchtown
Geo. W. Stickle	Rockaway	Joseph H. Fulper	Washington

NEW JERSEY—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

5—Wm. Barbour	Paterson	Thomas R. Watson.....	Passaic
Sheffield Phelps	Teaneck	Alfred Gramlich	Woodridge
6—Leslie D. Ward	Newark	George A. Douglas	Newark
Robt. W. Hawkesworth...	East Orange.	John H. Palmer	East Orange
7—Flavel McGee	Jersey City	Henry J. Lemmer	West Hoboken
Edward M. Watson	Jersey City	Wm. A. Schell	Hoboken
8—Charles J. Fiske	Plainfield	John H. Eastwood	Belleville
Geo. E. DeCamp	Livingston	Edward P. Allen	Bayonne

NEW YORK.

AT LARGE.

Thomas C. Platt	Owego	James A. Roberts	Buffalo
Chauncey M. Depew	New York	George H. Roberts	Brooklyn
Theodore Roosevelt	Oyster Bay	George J. Smith	Kingston
Benj. B. Odell, Jr.....	Newburgh	John Raines	Canandaigua

DISTRICTS.

1—Frederick P. Morris....	Flushing, L. I.	C. W. Hellett	Long Island City
Joseph M. Belford.....	Riverhead, L. I.	D. Whitson Valentine..	Huntington, L. I.
2—Wm. C. Wallace	Brooklyn	George W. Brush	Brooklyn
Andrew Jacobs	Brooklyn	James A. McMicken	Brooklyn
3—Charles A. Moore	Brooklyn	Jacob D. Breener	Brooklyn
George E. Waldo	Brooklyn	William T. Beattie	Brooklyn
4—Adolph Kiendl	Brooklyn	David F. Butcher	Brooklyn
Edward P. Morse	Brooklyn	John J. Barrett	Brooklyn
5—Wm. Cullen Bryant	Brooklyn	George F. Murr	Brooklyn
Francis T. Williams	Brooklyn	Maxwell C. Burger	Brooklyn
6—James R. Howe	Brooklyn	John Drescher, Jr.....	Brooklyn
Harry Jacquillard	Brooklyn	George H. Nason	Brooklyn
7—Hugh McRoberts.....	Tompkinsville, S. I.	Thos. A. Branif.....	Tompkinsville, S. I.
John Murray Mitchell.....	N. Y. City	Thompkins McIlvain	N. Y. City
8—Lispenard Stewart	N. Y. City	James E. March	N. Y. City
Frank H. Platt	N. Y. City	Simon Gavin	N. Y. City
9—Charles H. Murray	N. Y. City	John Stiebling	N. Y. City
John Sabine Smith	N. Y. City	Patrick J. O'Brien	N. Y. City
10—Frederick S. Gibbs	N. Y. City	John Miller	N. Y. City
Howard Carroll	N. Y. City	Frank H. Graff	N. Y. City
11—George Hilliard	N. Y. City	Thomas Rothmann	N. Y. City
George R. Shelden	N. Y. City	Charles M. Jeroloman	N. Y. City
12—Cornelius N. Bliss	N. Y. City	Henry Birrell	N. Y. City
F. Norton Goddard	N. Y. City	George B. Agnew	N. Y. City
13—James W. Perry	N. Y. City	George W. Bleezarde	N. Y. City
Edward Lauterbach	N. Y. City	Jacob Kahn	N. Y. City
14—Lemuel E. Quigg	N. Y. City	Newall Martin	N. Y. City
John Reisenweber	N. Y. City	Henry R. Hoyt	N. Y. City
15—Francis V. Greene	N. Y. City	Jefferson A. Simonds	N. Y. City
Franklin T. Smith	N. Y. City	Ambrose O. Neal	N. Y. City
16—Wm. H. Ten Eyck	N. Y. City	James K. Apgar	Peekskill
Leslie M. Sutherland	Yonkers	Edward A. Healey	New York
17—Thomas W. Bradley	Walden	Edward D. Tompkins	Middletown
Otis H. Cutler	Suffern	J. P. Roose, Jr.....	Monticello
18—Robert H. Hunter	Poughkeepsie	E. W. Addis	Brewster
Samuel D. Coykendall	Rondout	George W. Washburn	Saugerties

NEW YORK—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

19—Frank S. Black	Troy	Herman H. Livingston	Catskill
Louis F. Payn	Chatham	Cornelius V. Collins	Troy
20—Lewis E. Carr	Albany	Henry M. Sage	Albany
Louis I. Walman	Albany	John W. Wheelock	Albany
21—Hobart Krum	Schoharie	James H. Callanan	Schenectady
Burr Mattice	Oneonta	Isaac W. Brandow	Catskill
22—Leslie W. Russell	Canton	M. R. Sackett	Gouverneur
W. W. Worden	Saratoga	A. E. Blunck	Johnstown
23—Charles E. Johnson	Plattsburg	John Carrier	Brighton
Frank S. Witherbee	Port Henry	H. E. Tremaine	Caldwell
24—George B. Sloan	Oswego	P. W. Cullinan	Oswego
Elon R. Brown	Watertown	William H. Johnson	Port Leyden
25—John C. Davies	Camden	Watson T. Dunmore	Utica
John M. Budlong	Schuyler	P. J. McEvoy	Little Falls
26—John W. Dwight	Dryden	C. J. Knapp	Binghamton
George O. Meade	Walton	W. E. Johnson	Waverly
27—Hendrick S. Holden	Syracuse	James W. Upson	Baldwinsville
Francis Gates	Chittenango	Eugene P. Sisson	Hamilton
28—Serenio E. Payne	Auburn	George E. Cornell	Pen Yan
Charles T. Saxton	Glyde	Charles F. Milliken	Canandaigua
29—John F. Parkhurst	Bath	Charles A. Sloans	Montour Falls
J. B. H. Mongin	Waterloo	Seymour Dexter	Elmira
30—S. Benedict Whitlock	Warsaw	Stanley E. Filkins	Medina
Arthur C. Hastings	Niagara Falls	Jonathan B. Morey	Dansville
31—George W. Aldridge	Rochester	John C. McVean, Jr.	Scottsville
Henry C. Brewster	Rochester	DeWitt C. Becker	Fairport
32—John R. Hazel	Buffalo	James Ash	Buffalo
Simon Seibert	Buffalo	Charles Mosier	Buffalo
33—William C. Warren	Buffalo	A. G. Baker	Hamburg
Herman J. Kreinhoder	Buffalo	Adam Rinewatt	Williamsville
34—Hurley L. Phillips	Jamestown	Charles M. Hamilton	Ripley
Melvin E. Horner	Belmont	Henry A. Soules	Allegheny

NORTH CAROLINA.

AT LARGE.

J. C. Pritchard	Marshall	L. L. Wrenn	Siler City
James E. Boyd	Greensboro	J. E. Cox	High Point
E. C. Duncan	Raleigh	A. M. Clarke	Southern Pines
Charles McNamee	Baltimore	I. M. Meekins	Elizabeth City

DISTRICTS.

1—D. H. Abbott	Vandemere	W. R. White	Hertford
Wheeler Martin	Williamston	J. L. Phelps	Plymouth
2—Geo. H. White	Tarboro	Albert Miller	Lagrange
Henry E. Hagans	Goldsboro	Dred Wimberly	Tarboro
3—S. W. Hancock	Newbern	M. B. Williams	Clinton
S. A. King	Elizabethtown	S. A. Cotton	Hope Mills
4—J. M. Millican	Asheboro	H. P. Pierce	Selma
C. T. Bailey	Raleigh	F. D. Jones	Gulf
5—Spencer B. Adams	Greensboro	J. T. Donoho	Yanceyville
Jos. A. Norwood	Buchanan	B. F. Sprinkle	Reidsville
6—Thomas E. Wallace	Wilmington	F. B. Rice	Wilmington
B. B. Russell	Maxton	S. B. Pride	Charlotte

NORTH CAROLINA—*Continued.**Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

7—Henry C. Cowles	Statesville	Moses L. Bean	Salisbury
D. Martin Carpenter	Maiden	M. D. Kimbrough	Mocksville
8—W. A. Lemley	Winston	J. W. McNeil	Wilksboro
J. B. Atkins	Lenoir	S. C. Parson	Jefferson
9—V. S. Lusk	Asheville	James L. Morgan	Marion
Thomas S. Rollins	Marshall	J. F. Hayes	Saphire

NORTH DAKOTA.

AT LARGE.

H. S. Hansbrough	Devils Lake	C. V. Brown	Sykeston
Porter J. McCumber	Wahpeton	Geo. A. White	Portland
R. N. Stevens	Bismarck	R. S. Blackwell	Lamoure
H. L. Holmes	Bathgate	Fred Leutz	Hebron
Stephen Collins	Grand Fork	E. N. Swiggum	Grafton
H. C. Plumley	Fargo	Warren Steele	Rolla

OHIO.

AT LARGE.

George K. Nash	Columbus	Charles Foster	Fostoria
Jos. B. Foraker	Cincinnati	W. C. Brown	Fostoria
Chas. H. Grosvenor	Athens	George A. Meyers	Cleveland
Chas. Dick	Akron	Myron A. Norris	Youngstown

DISTRICTS.

1—George B. Cox	Cincinnati	Louis Kruckemeyer	Cincinnati
Charles P. Taft	Cincinnati	Andrew J. Conroy	Cincinnati
2—John A. Caldwell	Cincinnati	John B. Morris	Cincinnati
Henry Bremfoeder	Cincinnati	Scott Bonham	Cincinnati
3—Joseph E. Lowes	Dayton	J. W. King	Eaton
O. V. Parrish	Hamilton	W. B. Marsh	Eaton
4—W. D. Davies	Sidney	A. F. Markwith	Greenville
W. K. Boone	Lima	W. W. Shafer	Rockford
5—G. L. Marble	Van Wert	William Kirtley, Jr.	Defiance
W. H. Phipps	Paulding	M. E. Wilson	Hicksville
6—Irvin McD. Smith	Hillsboro	L. H. Williams	Ripley
Wm. W. Dennison	Batavia	Cheney F. Cretors	Xenia
7—Geo. C. Rawlins	Springfield	Thos. B. Wilson	London
Thos. W. Marchant	Washington, C. H.	Henry P. Folsom	Circleville
8—D. E. Strayer	DeGraff	Frank J. McCulloch	Bellefontaine
J. L. Cameron	Marysville	Geo. J. Carter	Kenton
9—Robinson Locke	Toledo	John B. Wilson	Bowling Green
J. O. Troup	Bowling Green	Wm. Sowders	Port Clinton
10—Orin B. Gould	Wellston	P. N. Wickerham	Peebles
Robert M. Switzer	Gallipolis	T. N. Patterson	Waverly
11—John F. White	Logan	P. B. Stanberry	Pomeroy
C. S. Rannels	Zaleski	J. T. Axline	Shawnee
12—Cyrus Huling	Columbus	L. W. Buckmaster	Columbus
O. H. Perry	Columbus	M. C. Lakin	Columbus
13—Jesse Vickery	Bellevue	Roscoe B. Fisher	Sandusky
Alex. Kiskadden	Tiffin	John W. Cupp	Galion
14—John M. Barry	Mt. Gilead	A. G. Bodley	Plymouth
Burgess L. McElroy	Mt. Vernon	Lem P. Yokum	Norwalk
15—James M. Rusk	McConnellsville	J. S. Rownd	Summerfield
P. C. Patterson	Cambridge	L. C. Hayes	Vincent

OHIO—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

16—G. E. Bradfield	Barnesville	S. K. McLaughlin	Hurford
Robert Blythe	Carrollton	Robert McGowan	Steubenville
17—John Huston	Millersburg	George A. Hay	Coshocton
Wilson A. Kornis	New Philadelphia	Ross W. Funk	Wooster
18—Joseph G. Butler, Jr.	Youngstown	H. R. Hill	East Liverpool
H. W. Morgan	Alliance	Wm. Cornelius	Youngstown
19—S. J. Smith	Conneaut	Richard King	Chardon
W. H. Crafts	Mantua	W. S. Darlis	Kinsman
20—I. P. Lamson	Cleveland	James Calwell	Cleveland
Robert C. Moody	Painesville	Charles C. Hamilton	Cleveland
21—Frank R. Hatfield	Cleveland	W. F. Hoppensack	Cleveland
James Barnett	Cleveland	Joseph Carabelli	Cleveland

OREGON.

AT LARGE.

Wallace McCamant	Portland	Lewis Simpson	North Bend
Henry E. Ankenny	Sterling	H. L. Holgate	Corvallis
John D. Daly	Corvallis	Wallis Nash	Nashville
H. L. Knuck	The Dalles	John W. Knowles	La Grande

DISTRICTS.

1—George A. Steel	Portland	Rufus S. Moore	Klamath Falls
John B. David	Newberg	James A. Wilson	Portland
2—Joseph Simon	Portland	Thomas McEwan	Sumpter
F. S. Stanley	Perry	R. Alexander	Pendleton

PENNSYLVANIA.

AT LARGE.

M. S. Quay	Beaver	J. Thomas Preston	Whitford
John B. Steel	Greensburg	W. E. Rice	Warren
Frank Reeder	Easton	C. F. Barclay	Sinnemahoning
William Connell	Scranton	Edward A. Price	Media
B. W. Green	Emporium	Mial E. Lilley	Towanda
Chas. A. Porter	Philadelphia	W. C. Krepis	Green Castle
James Elverson	Philadelphia	Jesse L. Hartman	Hollidaysburg
John Leisenring	Upper Lehigh	George Edward Reed	Carlisle

DISTRICTS.

1—Henry H. Bingham	Philadelphia	William McCoach	Philadelphia
Israel W. Durham	Philadelphia	Thomas Patterson	Philadelphia
2—Boies Penrose	Philadelphia	Samuel M. Clement	Philadelphia
David H. Lane	Philadelphia	Jacob Wildemore	Philadelphia
3—James B. Anderson	Philadelphia	Harry J. Trainer	Philadelphia
Joseph H. Klemmer	Philadelphia	Robert J. Moore	Philadelphia
4—A. S. L. Shields	Philadelphia	Harry D. Beaston	Philadelphia
Chas. F. Kindred	Philadelphia	Charles W. Boger	Philadelphia
5—John H. Bromley	Philadelphia	William L. Martin	Tacony
Isaac Schlichter	Philadelphia	Chas P. Francis	Philadelphia
6—J. Herbert Ogden	Lansdowne	J. B. Robinson	Media
Horace A. Beale	Parkesburg	Joseph Morris	Lionville
7—Jos. Bosler	Ogontz	Henry B. Freed	Souderton
Joseph R. Grundy	Bristol	Chas. G. Knight	Churchville
8—Russel C. Stewart	Easton	H. W. Kistler	Stroudsburg
J. Monroe Driesbach	Mauch Chunk	H. B. Reed	Milford

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

9—Jonathan G. Leinbach	Reading	Uriah Biery	Shamrock
Walter L. Jones	Allentown	Wm. B. Schaeffer	West Bethlehem
10—W. W. Griest	Lancaster	E. S. Hoover	Lancaster
Isaac W. Slokom	Christiana	J. G. Usner	Rothsville
11—Everett Warren	Scranton	Arthur Long	Scranton
Thomas H. Dale	Scranton	Chauncey Derby	Scranton
12—Morgan B. Williams	Wilkesbarre	A. W. Drake	Lattimer Mines
Chas. A. Hiner	Wilkesbarre	Alex. Thompson	Pittston
13—W. J. Whitehouse	Pottsville	Chas. E. Breckons	St. Clair
Harrison Ball	Mahanoy City	Geo. C. Deifenderfer	Orwigsburg
14—Samuel E. Light	Lebanon	Thomas H. Capp	Lebanon
Henry C. Shearer.....	New Bloomfield	Jacob H. Redsecker	Lebanon
15—Coe Durland	Honesdale	Henry Harding	Tunkhannock
F. L. Kinner	Athens	H. L. Hoyt	Athens
16—James N. Kline	Williamsport	A. C. Hopkins	Lock Haven
Sanford H. Lewis	Coudersport	A. G. Olmsted	Coudersport
17—C. M. Clement	Sunbury	A. G. Haas	Shamokin
James C. Brown	Bloomsburg	H. A. McKillip	Bloomsburg
18—Dr. Percival Herman	Kratzerville	J. J. Booth	Lewiston
Carl M. Gage	Huntingdon	H. B. McNulty	Chambersburg
19—John L. Hill, Jr.....	Gettysburg	Solomon D. Melering	Littlestown
Chas. H. Mullin.....	Mt. Holly Springs	R. Hathaway Shindle	York
20—Robert S. Murphy	Johnstown	John R. Scott	Somerset
John H. Jordan	Bedford	George R. Scull	Somerset
21—Jay C. Booher	Falls Creek	John A. Graff	Blairsville
Samuel Donaldson	Kittanning	D. S. Atkinson	Greensburg
22—C. L. Magee	Pittsburgh	J. O. Brown	Pittsburgh
William Flinn	Pittsburgh	D. L. Gillespie	Pittsburgh
23—James R. Wyman	Allegheny	Chas. T. Nevin	Allegheny
William Witherow	Allegheny	C. W. Forsythe	Natrona
24—Geo. M. von Bonnhorst.....	Pittsburgh	Webb W. Murray	Pittsburgh
John H. Murdock	Washington	A. C. Marsh	Washington
25—Oscar L. Jackson	New Castle	Quincy A. Gordon	Mercer
Raymond H. Pillow	Butler	John B. McClure	Beaver
26—J. F. Downing	Erie	Chas. Burgess	Titusville
Samuel B. Dick	Meadville	O. D. Van Camp	Girard
27—James A. McKean	Smithport	E. A. Dempsey	Bradford
W. P. Nutting	Youngsville	George W. Campbell	Warren
28—C. A. Randall	Tionesta	John M. Dale	Bellefontaine
M. L. McQuown	Clearfield	W. H. Baker	Ridgeway

RHODE ISLAND.

AT LARGE.

Charles R. Brayton	Providence	Henry E. Tiepke	Pawtucket
Frank F. Carpenter	Providence	Elam W. Olney	Providence
Charles H. Chid.....	Providence	Harry C. Curtis	Providence
Lucius B. Darling	Pawtucket	George L. Pierce	Providence

DISTRICTS.

1—William P. Buffum.....	Newport	Isaac M. Potter	Providence
Joseph C. Fletcher	Bristol	Samuel L. Peck	Warren
2—B. Frank Robinson, Jr.....	S. Kingstown	Albert S. Babcock	Hopkinton
Richard Thornley	East Greenwich	Walter E. Spink	Coventry

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

SOUTH CAROLINA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

E. A. Webster	Columbia	A. Lathrop	Orangeburg
Robert Smalls	Beaufort	S. T. Poinier	Spartanburg
E. H. Deas	Darlington	R. E. Williams	New Berry
R. R. Tolbert	Abbeville	A. S. Johnson	Aiken

DISTRICTS.

1—G. I. Cunningham	Charleston	J. A. Baxter	Georgetown
W. D. Crum	Charleston	J. I. Washington	Beaufort
2—E. J. Dickerson	Aiken	Arthur A. Simkins	Edgefield
W. S. Dixon	Barnwell	G. G. Butler	Barnwell
3—E. F. Cochran	Anderson	W. J. Thomas	Seneca
A. C. Marrick	Walhalla	J. W. Tolbert	Greenwood
4—J. F. Ensor	Columbia	B. W. Nance	Winnsboro
B. F. Means	Spartanburg	Frank Nichols	Greenville
5—J. F. Jones	Blacksburg	F. R. Massey	Lancaster
W. E. Boykin	Camden	J. C. Atkinson	Chester
6—Joshua E. Wilson	Florence	W. R. Jackson	Florence
W. H. Collier	Marion	J. R. Levy	Florence
7—J. H. Fordham	Orangeburg	James O. Ladd	Summerville
R. M. Wallace	Sumter	J. H. Weston	Congaree

SOUTH DAKOTA.

AT LARGE.

Emil Branch	Hurley	C. W. Pratt	Edgerton
George Rice	Flandreau	Geo. Cochran	Dell Rapids
L. L. Lostutter	Iroquois	J. C. Sharp	Iroquois
A. H. Betts	Alexandria	C. W. Ainsworth	Alexandria
C. B. Collins	Groton	D. T. Hindman	Aberdeen
M. P. Beebe	Ipswich	J. H. Bottimo	Ipswich
James Halley	Rapid City	S. C. Lumis	Custer
G. G. Bennett	Deadwood	Max Blatt	Sturgis

TENNESSEE.

AT LARGE.

Henry R. Gibson	Knoxville	Alonzo J. Tyler	Sneedville
Foster V. Brown	Chattanooga	Richard W. Austin	Knoxville
Geo. N. Tillman	Nashville	George W. Porter	Clarksville
John E. McCall	Lexington	Josiah T. Settle	Memphis

DISTRICTS.

1—Walter P. Brownlow	Jonesboro	Benjamin W. Hooper	Newport
George McHenderson	Rutledge	William H. Nelson	Backwoods
2—John J. Graham	Jacksboro	Samuel P. Sparks	Kingston
James A. Green	London	Samuel M. Pickens	Cusick's
3—Newell Sanders	Chattanooga	F. L. Mansfield	Athens
T. W. Peace	Madisonville	J. C. Hale	Winchester
4—John E. Oliver	Cabbatha	Solon Robinson	Jamestown
Blanton W. Burford	Lebanon	Claire V. Guinn	Hartsville
5—Ernest Coldwell	Shelbyville	J. Mack. Eakin	Fayetteville
James J. Elliott	Murfreesboro	Chas. Heidenberg	Tullahoma
6—A. W. Wills	Nashville	John L. Barbour	Nashville
I. W. Pitts	Clarksville	E. F. Peck	Dover
7—John W. Jackson	Columbia	John Turman	Waynesboro
James C. Hickman	Lynnville	J. S. Beasley	Centreville

TENNESSE—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICTS.

8—F. S. Elgin	Selmer	W. M. Bray	Henderson
S. W. Hawkins	Huntingdon	A. A. Watson	Savannah
9—D. A. Nunn	Brownsville	T. H. Johnson	Halls
G. T. Taylor	Union City	J. F. Booker	Union City
10—R. R. Church	Memphis	G. A. Boyd	Mason
J. W. Dutro	Memphis	Thomas C. Phelan	Memphis

TEXAS.

AT LARGE.

R. B. Hawley	Galveston	R. E. Hanney	Hempstead
E. H. R. Green	Terrell	Geo. Moore	Brownsville
Charles M. Ferguson	San Antonio	J. A. Smith	El Paso
M. M. Rodgers	LaGrange	A. L. Maynard	Lockhart

DISTRICTS.

1—Waller Burns	Houston	R. B. Smith	Treanor
J. Atkins	Navasota	W. M. Green	Houston
2—Geo. W. Burkett	Palestine	Theo. Miller	Rusk
William Sanders	Nacogdoches	H. L. Price	Palestine
3—C. C. Flannagan	Henderson	J. M. Gurley	Greenbille
U. G. Roach	Celeste	J. W. Yates	Longview
4—J. A. Blackwell.		B. C. Browning.	
H. G. Goree.		H. W. Walker.	
5—G. A. Knight	Belcheville	H. C. Bell	Benton
W. H. Love	McKinney	H. J. Hendricks	Gainesville
6—Eugene Marshall.		G. W. McCormick.	
W. E. King.		G. W. Lanier.	
7—C. A. Boynton	Waco	D. R. Emerson	Marlin
G. W. Sledge	Cameron	R. E. Hendricks	Calbert
8—W. C. Forbess	Weatherford	J. N. Deal	Fort Worth
Harry Harris	Yatesville	J. Will Bynum	Brownwood
9—J. G. Hornberger	Austin	C. V. Compton	Taylor
J. T. Harris	Brenham	D. N. McCoy	Giddings
10—H. C. Heilig	LaGrange	W. J. Miller	Hallettsville
H. C. Ferguson	Richmond	N. H. Haller	Angleton
11—C. G. Brewster	Laredo	F. W. Groce	Victoria
D. Abner, Jr.	Seguin	G. R. Townsend	Victoria
12—C. C. Drake	Eagle Pass	Peter Geib	Del Rio
W. G. Robinson	San Antonio	J. S. Cameron	San Antonio
13—J. G. Lowdon	Abilene	R. O. Rector	Abilene
C. K. McDowell	Dickens	T. F. Berner	Henrietta

UTAH.

AT LARGE.

C. E. Loose	Provo	John Meteer	Richfield
Arthur Brown	Salt Lake City	Stephen H. Love	Salt Lake City
George M. Hanson	Ogden	Ephraim Homer	Provo
Heber M. Wells	Salt Lake City	W. H. Clark	Salt Lake City
George Sutherland	Salt Lake City	E. P. Ellison	Layton
Thomas Kearns	Park City	Mrs. W. H. Jones	Salt Lake City

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

VERMONT.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

John G. McCullough....North Bennington
 Henry C. BatesSt. Johnsbury
 Edward WellsBurlington
 Levant M. ReedRockingham

George T. ChaffeeRutland
 George T. HowardCraftsbury
 Jacob B. HindesVergennes
 Curtis S. HenryChelsea

DISTRICTS.

1—Wm. N. PlattShoreham
 Emery M. Brown.....Sheldon
 3—W. H. H. SlackSpringfield
 E. M. BartlettBrighton

Frank KenfieldNorristown
 Henry O. CarpenterRutland
 F. W. BillingsWoodstock
 G. W. RandallWaterbury

VIRGINIA.

AT LARGE.

Park AgnewAlexandria
 James A. WalkerWytheville
 James D. BradyPetersburg
 S. Brown AllenStaunton

J. Hampton HogeRoanoke
 A. P. FunkhouserHarrisonburg
 W. H. C. BrownNewport News
 J. J. AlleyGate City

DISTRICTS.

1—C. G. SmithersCape Charles
 Samuel E. PittsBalty
 2—Geo. E. BowdenNorfolk
 W. S. HollendWindsor
 3—Morgan TreatWest Point
 J. R. PollardRichmond
 4—R. T. ThorpeBoydton
 A. W. HarrisPetersburg
 5—Charles P. SmithMartinsville
 V. M. SowderFloyd, C. H.
 6—S. E. SproulRoanoke
 J. C. CarterHouston
 7—C. M. GibbensWinchester
 C. A. R. MooreMt. Jackson
 8—Harry W. EamickLovettsville
 R. R. HornerWarrenton
 9—Stuart F. LindseyBristol
 A. P. GillespieTazewell
 10—W. C. FranklinPamplin City
 C. P. NairClifton Forge

Josephus TraderFichetts
 W. H. ParkerOnancock
 S. L. BurroughsPortsmouth
 W. H. ThoroughgoodNorfolk
 E. P. MurphyRichmond
 R. E. JonesRichmond
 W. F. JonesLawrenceville
 H. L. JacksonBlackstone
 M. O. CornettIndependence
 J. H. PiggChatham
 G. S. FitzwaterChristiansburg
 Adolphus HumblesLynchburg
 Charles L. EstesBarryville
 Chas. L. HoltzmanLuray
 B. F. EllengerRemington
 F. T. JohnsonStafford's Store
 Robert W. BlairWytheville
 R. M. CalfeePulaski
 W. H. ShawLexington
 Robert SouthallStaunton

WASHINGTON.

AT LARGE.

Levi AnkenyWalla Walla
 L. A. SimsKalama
 E. C. NeufelderSeattle
 George H. BakerGoldendale
 J. M. AshtonTacoma
 N. B. CoffmanChehalis
 Herbert S. ConnerLa Conner
 E. J. HayfieldColfax

Charles E. CoonFort Townsend
 J. S. MiersRepublic
 J. W. BeanEllensburg
 A. S. LindseyWenatchee
 L. A. KennedyRitzville
 S. G. CosgrovePomeroy
 E. BaumesiterAsotin
 M. E. HayWilbur

WEST VIRGINIA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

George W. Curtin	Sutton	F. H. Blake	Moundsville
Samuel H. Gramm	Grafton	C. A. Whiteshot	Mannington
J. Eugene Dana	Charleston	S. F. Morris	Eckman
Edward H. Flynn	Spencer	C. H. Payne	Huntington

DISTRICTS.

1—Morris Horkheimer	Wheeling	Andrew Carney	Wheeling
Daniel U. O'Brien	Glenville	W. F. Morrison	Sutton
2—John D. Rigg	Terra Alta	A. W. Wight	Morgantown
L. J. Forman	Petersburg	S. C. Cross	Berkeley Springs
3—Philip Doodwill	Bramwell	J. W. Heavener	Buckhannon
M. J. Simms	Montgomery	John H. Hill	Institute
4—W. W. Monroe	Parkersburg	R. A. Riggs	Point Pleasant
Eugene M. Campbell	Huntington	T. B. McClure	Wayne

WISCONSIN.

AT LARGE.

Joseph B. Treat	Monroe	Charles H. Baxter	Lancaster
H. Augustus Luedtke	Milwaukee	Andrew J. Frame	Waukesha
Isaac Stephenson	Marinette	John L. Erdall	Madison
James H. Stout	Menomonie	N. C. Foster	Fairchild

DISTRICTS.

1—James Reynolds	Lake Geneva	John Luchinger	Monroe
James Hoskins	Darlington	B. B. Blake	Racine
2—A. A. Porter	Portage	W. H. Proctor	Portage
George J. Kispert	Jefferson	A. R. Hoard	Fort Atkinson
3—L. H. Bancroft	Richland Centre	W. A. Warren	Baraboo
Samuel W. Reese	Dodgeville	Matt D. Pitman	Boscobel
4—Bernard Leidersdorf	Milwaukee	Irving M. Bean	Milwaukee
W. H. Stevens	Milwaukee	C. W. Milbrath	Milwaukee
5—John R. Dennett	Pt. Washington	Ed. Foster	Waukesha
Chas. Elkert	Milwaukee	John J. Kempf	Milwaukee
6—E. G. Nash	Manitowoc	Karl D. Jackson	Oshkosh
H. A. Winslow	Fond du Lac	Ira P. Coon	Plainfield
7—James T. Barber	Eau Claire	E. A. Miller	Hixton
Levi Withee	La Crosse	W. L. House	Tomah
8—George L. Rodgers	Steven Point	J. J. Nelson	Amherst
Peter Thom	Appleton	A. J. Simpich	Appleton
9—Walter Alexander	Wausau	John Friend	Antigo
B. W. Davis	Phillipps	W. J. Davis	Marinette
10—R. L. McCormick	Hayward	Thad. C. Pound	Chippewa
John T. Murphy	Superior	S. A. Peterson	Rice Lake

WYOMING.

AT LARGE.

Frances E. Warren	Cheyenne	Edward W. Stone	Cheyenne
Clarence D. Clarke	Evanston	Thomas D. Bebb	Buffalo
Frank W. Mondell	New Castle	F. E. Rounds	Sundance
DeForrest Richard	Douglas	J. G. Cosgriff	Rawlins
J. L. Torrey	Embar	A. A. Spaugh	Mauville
George C. Gobel	Rock Springs	John D. McGill	Rock Creek

ALASKA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

John G. Heid	Juneau	Edward de Graffe	Sitka
W. D. Grant	Wrangel	J. F. Collins	Wrangel

ARIZONA.

AT LARGE.

Charles H. Akers	Phoenix	O. D. M. Gaddis	Kingman
Charles R. Drake	Tucson	W. H. Clark	Holbrook
John W. Dorrington	Yuma	R. A. F. Penrose	Pearce
Frank Dysart	Solomonville	Thomas F. Grindell	Phoenix
J. L. Hubbel	St. Johns	George Christy	Phoenix
J. A. Vail	Flagstaff	Charles F. Solomon	Solomonville

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

AT LARGE.

John E. Jones	Washington	Geo. E. Emmons	Washington
W. Calvin Chase	Washington	Lucius H. Peterson	Washington

NEW MEXICO.

AT LARGE.

Miguel A. Otero	Santa Fe	Robert P. Ervien	Clayton
E. A. Cahoon	Roswell	R. C. Gortner	Santa Fe
Secundino Romero	Las Vegas	Henry D. Bowman	Las Cruces
Frank A. Hubbell	Albuquerque	David J. Lehy	Raton
Juan Santisteven	Taos	J. M. Sandoval	Albuquerque
Abram Abeytia	Socorro	L. Sollenberger	Hillsboro

OKLAHOMA.

AT LARGE.

John R. Tate	Blackwell	S. C. Eckhard	El Reno
J. G. Pringey	Harvey	P. F. Tyler	Watonga
C. H. Thompson	Guthrie	Frank T. Cook	Cloud Chief
W. J. French	Alva	I. F. Norris	Orlando
G. G. Baker	Britton	J. M. Van Winkle	Shawnee
J. W. McNeal	Guthrie	R. A. Southard	Perry

HAWAII.

AT LARGE.

S. Parker	Honolulu
A. N. Kepoikai	Honolulu

INDIAN TERRITORY.

P. L. Soper	Vinita, Cherokee Nation	C. W. Poole	Chelsea, Cherokee Nation
E. J. Fannin	S. McAlester, Choctaw Nat.	D. Thomas	Talihina, Choctaw Nation
A. F. Parkinson	Wagoner, Creek Nation	A. G. W. Sango	Muscogee, Creek Nation
W. L. McWilliams	Miami, Quapaw Ag'y	Wm. Logan	Miami, Quapaw Agency
C. L. Long	Wowoka, Seminole Nation	C. A. Bruner	Econtuchka, Seminole N.
Chas. M. Campbell	Ardmore, Chickasaw N.	W. C. Blanchard	Purcell, Chickasaw N.

Mr. SERENO E. PAYNE, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, on behalf of a majority of the delegates from the State of New York I demand the previous question on the adoption of the report.

Mr. WILLIAM J. SEWELL, of New Jersey.—On the part of New Jersey I second the demand.

Mr. SYDNEY E. MUDD, of Maryland.—I second the demand on behalf of Maryland.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The demand for the previous question being seconded by two States, the question is, shall it be ordered?

The previous question was ordered.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—There will be forty minutes of debate upon the question of agreeing to the report of the Committee on Credentials. Twenty minutes of the time will be allotted by the Hon. Sereno E. Payne, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, and the other twenty minutes should be equitably divided among the minority, representing the differing sides.

Mr. PAYNE, of New York.—I reserve my time. I do not know that any debate will be required.

(Cries of "Question!" "Question!")

Mr. H. V. CASHIN, of Alabama.—Before the question is put, I wish to call attention to an error in the report of the Committee in reference to the delegation from Alabama. The report shows that two of the delegates are alternates. It is merely a clerical error, which can be easily corrected.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The clerical error has already been corrected by the Secretary. If no one desires to debate the matter the question is on agreeing to the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The report was agreed to.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. Is the Committee ready to report?

Mr. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, the Committee on Permanent Organization submit the report which I hold in my hand. They have selected for Permanent Chairman of the Convention the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts. (Applause.) I ask that the report be read.

The report was read as follows:

To the HON. EDWARD O. WOLCOTT, Temporary Chairman:

The Committee on Permanent Organization begs leave to report the following, for the permanent officers of the convention:

Permanent Chairman, Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts.

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.

General Secretary, Hon. Charles W. Johnson, of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Assistant Secretaries, John R. Malloy, of Columbus, Ohio.

John R. Beam, of Paterson, New Jersey.

Lucien Grey, of Lewistown, Illinois.

Gardner P. Stickney, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

James F. Burke, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

W. B. Bauchman, of Bluff City, Tennessee.

Warren Bigler, of Wabash, Indiana.

John Q. Royce, of Phillipsburg, Kansas.

F. S. Gaylord, of Connecticut.

D. C. Kolp, of Iowa Park, Texas.

Reading Clerks, Dennis E. Alward, of Michigan.

E. L. Lampson, of Jefferson, Ohio.

James H. Stone, of Detroit, Michigan.

H. L. Rummel, of Little Rock, Arkansas.

Clerk at President's Desk, Asher C. Hinds, of Portland, Maine.

Official Reporter, Milton W. Blumenberg, of Illinois.

Tally Clerks, J. Herbert Potts, of Jersey City, New Jersey.

George R. Butlin, of Omaha, Nebraska.

Messengers to Secretary, Griffin Halstead, C. W. DeKnight.

Messenger to Chairman, Joseph W. Young.

OFFICE OF THE SERGEANT AT ARMS.

Sergeant at Arms, George N. Wiswell, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Chief Organizer, David C. Owen, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

First Assistant Chief of Staff, W. W. Johnson, of Baltimore, Maryland.

Second Assistant Chief of Staff, Maj. W. P. Huxford, of Connecticut, residence Washington, D. C.

Master of Doors, Samuel Kercheval, of Indianapolis, Indiana.

Assistant Master of Doors, Earle D. Sweetwood, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

We also recommend an honorary Vice President for each State, to be furnished to the Secretary of the Convention for the journal of proceedings.

Mr. GROSVENOR, of Ohio.—I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

The report was agreed to.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—The Chair appoints as a committee to escort the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge to the platform, Governor Shaw, of Iowa, and Governor Roosevelt, of New York.

The committee appointed by the Temporary Chairman escorted Mr. Lodge to the platform.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the Convention, I have the honor to present as your Permanent Chairman Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge).—Gentlemen of the Convention: One of the greatest honors that can fall to any American in public life is to be called to preside over a Republican National Convention. How great that honor is you know, but you cannot realize, nor can I express the gratitude which I feel to you for having conferred it upon me. I can only say to you, in the simplest phrase, that I thank you from the bottom of my heart. "Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks, and yet I thank you." (Applause.)

We meet again to nominate the next President of the United States. (Applause.) Four years have passed since we nominated the soldier and statesman who is now President, and who is soon to enter upon his second term. Since the Civil War no Presidential term has been so crowded with great events as that which is now drawing to a close. They have been four memorable years. To Republicans they show a record of promises kept, of work done, of unforeseen questions met and answered. To the Democrats they have been generous in the exhibition of unfulfilled predictions, in the ruin of their hopes of calamity, and in futile opposition to the forces of the times and the aspirations of the American people. I wish I could add that they had been equally instructive to our opponents, but while it is true that the Democrats, like the Bourbons, learn nothing, it is only too evident that the familiar comparison cannot be completed, for they forget a great deal which it would be well for them to remember. (Applause.)

In 1897 we took the government and the country from the hands of President Cleveland. His party had abandoned him and were joined to their idols, of which he was no longer one. During the last years of his term we had presented to us the melancholy spectacle of a President trying to govern without a party. The result was that his policies were in ruin, legislation was at a standstill and public affairs were in a perilous and incoherent condition. Party responsibility had vanished, and with it all possibility of intelligent action, demanded by the country at home and abroad. It was an interesting but by no means singular display of Democratic unfitness for the practical work of government. To the political student it was instructive, to the country it was extremely painful, to business disastrous.

We replaced this political chaos with a President in thorough accord with his party, and the machinery of government began again to move smoothly and effectively. Thus we kept at once our promise of better and more efficient administration. (Applause.) In four months after the inauguration of President McKinley we had passed a tariff bill. For ten years the artificial agitation, in behalf of what was humorously called tariff reform, and of what was really free trade, had kept business in a ferment, and had brought a treasury deficit, paralyzed industries, depression, panic, and, finally, continuous bad times to a degree never before imagined.

Would you know the result of our tariff legislation, look about you! Would you measure its success, recollect that it is no longer an issue; that our opponents, free traders as they are, do not dare to make it an issue; that there is not a State in the Union to-day which could be carried for free trade against protection. Never was a policy more fully justified by its works, never was a promise made by any party more absolutely fulfilled. (Applause.)

Dominant among the issues of four years ago was that of our monetary and financial system. The Republican party promised to uphold our credit, to protect our currency from revolution, and to maintain the gold standard. (Applause.) We have done so. We have done more. We have been better than our promise. Failing to secure, after honest effort, any encouragement for international bimetallism, we have passed a law strengthening the gold standard and planting it more firmly than ever in our financial system, improving our banking laws, buttressing our credit, and refunding the public debt at two per cent. interest, the lowest rate in the world. (Applause.) It was a great work well done. The only argument the Democrats can advance to-day in their own behalf on the money question is that a Republican Senate, in the event of Democratic success, would not permit the repeal of a Republican law. (Laughter.) This is a precious argument when looked at with considerate eyes, and quite worthy of the intellects which produced it. Apply it generally. Upon this theory because we have defeated the soldiers of Spain and sunk her ships we can with safety dispense with the army and the navy which did the work. Take another example. There has been a fire in a great city; it has been checked and extinguished, therefore let us abolish the fire department and cease to insure our homes. (Laughter.) Distrust in our currency, the dread of change, the deadly fear of a debased standard were raging four years ago and business lay prostrate before them. Republican supremacy and Republican legislation have extinguished the fires of doubt and fear and business has risen triumphant from the ashes. (Applause.) Therefore abolish your fire department, turn out the Republicans and put in power the incendiaries who lighted the flames and trust to what remains of Republican control to avert fresh disaster. (Applause.) The proposition is its own refutation. The supremacy of the party that has saved the standard of sound money and guarded it by law is as necessary for its security and for the existence of honest wages and of business confidence now as it was in 1896. The moment the Republican party passes from power and the party of free silver and fiat paper comes in, stable currency and the gold standard, the standard of the civilized world, are in imminent and deadly peril. Sound currency and a steady standard of value are to-day safe only in Republican hands. (Applause.)

But there were still other questions in 1896. We had already thwarted the efforts of the Cleveland administration to throw the Hawaiian Islands back to their dethroned Queen, and to give England a foothold for her

cables in the group. We then said that we would settle finally the Hawaiian question. We have done so. The traditional American policy has been carried out. The flag of the Union floats to-day over the crossroads of the Pacific, and her representatives sit with you in this hall. (Applause.)

We promised to deal with the Cuban question. Again comes the reply, we have done so. The long agony of the island is over. Cuba is free. (Applause.) But this great work brought with it events and issues which no man had foreseen, for which no party creed had provided a policy. The crisis came, bringing war in its train. The Republican President and the Republican Congress met the new trial in the old spirit. We fought the war with Spain. The result is history known of all men. (Applause.) We have the perspective now of only a short two years, and yet how clear and bright the great facts stand out, like mountain peaks against the sky, while the gathering darkness of a just oblivion is creeping fast over the low grounds where lie forgotten the trivial and unimportant things, the criticisms and the fault findings, which seemed so huge when we still lingered among them. Here they are, these great facts: a war of a hundred days with many victories and no defeats, with no prisoners taken from us and no advance stayed, with a triumphant outcome startling in its completeness and in its world wide meaning. (Applause.) Was ever a war more justly entered upon, more quickly fought, more fully won, more thorough in its results? (Applause.) Cuba is free. Spain has been driven from the Western Hemisphere. Fresh glory has come to our arms and crowned our flag. It was the work of the American people, but the Republican party was their instrument. (Applause.) Have we not the right to say that, here too, even as in the days of Abraham Lincoln, we have fought a good fight, we have kept the faith, we have finished the work. (Applause.)

War, however, is ever like the sword of Alexander. It cuts the knots. It is a great solvent and brings many results not to be foreseen. The world forces unchained in war perform in hours the work of years of quiet. (Applause.) Spain sued for peace. How was that peace to be made? The answer to this great question had to be given by the President of the United States. We were victorious in Cuba, in Porto Rico, in the Philippines. Should we give these islands back to Spain? Never! was the President's reply. (Applause.) Would any American wish that he had answered otherwise? Should we hand them over to some other power? Never! was again the answer. Would our pride and self respect as a nation have submitted to any other reply? Should we turn the islands, where we had destroyed all existing sovereignty, loose upon the world to be a prey to domestic anarchy and the helpless spoil of some other nation? Again the inevitable negative. (Applause.) Again the President answered as the nation he represented would have him answer. He boldly took the islands, took them knowing well the burden and responsibility; took them from a deep sense of duty to ourselves and others, guided by a

just foresight as to our future in the East, and with an entire faith in the ability of the American people to grapple with the new task. (Applause.) When future Conventions point to the deeds by which the Republican party has made history, they will proclaim with special pride that under a Republican administration the war of 1898 was fought, and that the peace with Spain was the work of William McKinley. (Applause.)

So much for the past. We are proud of it, but we do not expect to live upon it, for the Republican party is pre-eminently the party of action, and its march is ever forward. (Applause.) We are not so made that we can be content to retreat or to mark time. The traditions of the early days of our party are sacred to us, and are hostages given to the American people that we will not be unworthy of the great leaders who have gone. The deeds of yesterday are in their turn a pledge and a proof that what we promise we perform, and that the people who put faith in our declarations in 1896 were not deceived, and may place the same trust in us in 1900. (Applause.) But our pathway has never lain among dead issues, nor have we won our victories and made history by delving in political graveyards. (Applause.) We are the party of to-day, with cheerful yesterdays and confident to-morrows. (Applause.) The living present is ours, the present of prosperity and activity in business, of good wages and quick payments, of labor employed and capital invested, of sunshine in the market place and the stir of abounding life in the workshop and on the farm. (Applause.) It is with this that we have replaced the depression, the doubts, the dull business, the low wages, the idle labor, the frightened capital, the dark clouds which overhung industry and agriculture in 1896. This is what we would preserve, so far as sound government and wise legislation can do it. This is what we brought to the country four years ago. This is what we offer now.

Again, we promise that the protective system shall be maintained, and that our great industrial interests shall go on their way unshaken by the dire fear of tariff agitation and of changing duties. (Applause.) Again we declare that we will guard the national credit, uphold a sound currency based on gold, and keep the wages of the workingman, and the enterprise of the man of business, free from that most deadly of all evils, a fluctuating standard of value. (Applause.) The deficit which made this great country in a time of profound peace a borrower of money to meet its current expenditures has been replaced by abundant revenue, bringing a surplus, due alike to prosperity and to wise legislation, so ample that we can now safely promise a large reduction of taxation without imperilling our credit or risking a resort to loans. (Applause.)

We are prepared to take steps to revive and build up our merchant marine, and thus put into American pockets the money paid for carrying American freights. (Applause.) Out of the abundant resources, which our financial legislation has brought us, we will build the Isthmian Canal, and lay the cables which will help to turn the current of Eastern trade to the

Golden Gate. (Applause.) We are on good terms with all nations, and mean to remain so, while we promise to insure our peace and safety by maintaining the Monroe Doctrine, by ample coast defences and by building up a navy which no one can challenge with impunity. (Applause.)

The new problems brought by the war we face with confidence in ourselves, and a still deeper confidence in the American people, who will deal justly and rightly with the islands which have come into their charge. (Applause.) The outcry against our new possessions is as empty as the cant about "militarism" and "imperialism" is devoid of sense and meaning. Regard for a moment those who are loudest in shrieking that the American people are about to enter upon a career of oppression and that the Republic is in danger. Have they been in the past the guardians of freedom? Is safety for liberty now to be found most surely in the party which was the defender of domestic slavery? Is true freedom to be secured by the ascendancy of the party which beneath our very eyes seeks to establish through infamous laws the despotic rule of a small and unscrupulous band of usurpers in Kentucky (applause), who trample there not upon the rights of the black men but of the whites (applause), and which seeks to extend the same system to North Carolina and Missouri? (Applause.) Has it suddenly come to pass that the Democratic party which to-day aims whenever it acquires power to continue in office by crushing out honest elections and popular rule; has it indeed come to pass, I say, that that party is the chosen protector of liberty? If it were so the outlook would be black indeed. No! The party of Lincoln may best be trusted now, as in the past, to be true, even as he was true, to the rights of man and to human freedom, whether within the borders of the United States or in the islands which have come beneath our flag. (Applause.) The liberators may be trusted to watch over the liberated. (Applause.) We who freed Cuba will keep the pledge we made to her and will guide her along the road to independence and stable government until she is ready to settle her own future by the free expression of her people's will. (Applause.) We will be faithful to the trust imposed upon us, and if among those to whom this great work is confided in Cuba, or elsewhere, wrong doers shall be found, men not only bad in morals but dead to their duty as Americans and false to the honor of our name, we will punish these basest of criminals to the extent of the law. (Applause.)

For the islands of Hawaii and Porto Rico the political problem has been solved, and by Republican legislation they have been given self government, and are peaceful and prosperous under the rule of the United States. (Applause.)

In the Philippines we were met by rebellion, fomented by a self-seeking adventurer and usurper. The duty of the President was to repress that rebellion, to see to it that the authority of the United States, as rightful and as righteous in Manila as in Philadelphia, was acknowledged and obeyed. That harsh and painful duty President McKinley has performed

firmly and justly, eager to resort to gentle measures whenever possible, unyielding when treachery and violence made force necessary. Unlike the opponents of expansion we do not regard the soldiers of Otis and Lawton and MacArthur as "an enemy's camp." (Applause.) In our eyes they are the soldiers of the United States, they are our army, and we believe in them and will sustain them. (Applause.) Even now the Democrats are planning, if they get control of the House, to cut off appropriations for the army and thus compel the withdrawal of our troops from the Philippines. The result would be to force the retirement of such soldiers as would remain to Manila, and their retreat would be the signal for the massacre and plunder of the great body of the peaceful inhabitants of the islands who have trusted to us to protect and guard them. Such an event would be an infamy. (Applause.)

Is the Government, is the House, to be given over to a party capable of such a policy? Shall they not rather be trusted to the party which will sustain the army and suppress the brigands and guerrillas who, under pretence of war, are now adding so freely to the list of crimes committed in the name of liberty by usurpers and pretenders, and who, buoyed up by Democratic promises, keep up a highwayman's warfare in hope of Democratic success in November? It is for the American people to decide this question. Our position is plain. The restoration of peace and order now so nearly reached in the Philippines shall be completed. (Applause.) Civil government shall be established, and the people advanced as rapidly as possible along the road to entire freedom and to self-government under our flag. We will not abandon our task. We will neither surrender nor retreat. (Applause.) We will not write "failure" across this page of our history. We will do our duty, our full duty, to the people of the Philippines, and strive by every means to give them freedom, contentment and prosperity. (Applause.)

We have no belief in the old slaveholders' doctrine that the Constitution of its own force marches into every newly acquired territory, and this doctrine, which we cast out in 1860, we still reject. (Applause.) We do not mean that the Philippines shall come without our tariff system or become part of our body politic. We do mean that they shall, under our teaching, learn to govern themselves and remain under our flag with the largest possible measure of home rule. (Applause.)

We make no hypocritical pretence of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others. While we regard the welfare of these people as a sacred trust, we regard the welfare of the American people first. We see our duty to ourselves as well as to others. We believe in trade expansion. By every legitimate means within the province of government and legislation we mean to stimulate the expansion of our trade and to open new markets. Greatest of all markets is China. Our trade there is growing by leaps and bounds. Manila, the prize of war, gives us inestimable advantages in developing that trade. To-day, when our legations

are in danger, when our missionaries are assailed and our Consuls threatened, it is well indeed that we have ships in the Bay of Manila and troops that we can send to protect our own. (Applause.)

Manila is the corner-stone of our Eastern policy, and the brilliant diplomacy of John Hay in securing from all nations a guarantee of our treaty rights and of the open door in China rests upon it. (Applause.)

We ask the American people whether they will throw away these new markets and widening opportunities for trade and commerce, by putting in power the Democratic party, who seek under cover of a newly discovered affection for the rights of man, to give up these islands of the East and make Dewey's victory fruitless? The choice lies between this Democratic policy of retreat and the Republican policy which would hold the islands, give them freedom and prosperity, and enlarge these great opportunities for ourselves and our posterity. (Applause.) The Democratic attitude toward the Philippines rests wholly upon the proposition that the American people have neither the capacity nor the honesty to deal rightly with these islands. They assume that we shall fail. They fall down and worship a Chinese half-breed whose name they had never heard three years ago, and they slander, and cry down, and doubt the honor of American soldiers and sailors, of Admirals and Generals, and public men who have gone in and out before us during an entire lifetime. (Applause.)

We are true to our own. We have no distrust of the honor, the humanity, the capacity of the American people. (Applause.) To feel or do otherwise is to doubt ourselves, our government and our civilization. We take issue with the Democrats who would cast off the Philippines because the American people cannot be trusted with them, and we declare that the American people can be trusted to deal justly, wisely and generously with these distant islands and will lift them up to a higher prosperity, a broader freedom and a nobler civilization than they have ever known. (Applause.) We have not failed elsewhere. We shall not fail here. (Applause.)

Those are the questions we present to the American people in regard to the Philippines. Do they want such a humiliating change there as Democratic victory would bring? Do they want an even more radical change at home? Suppose the candidate of the Democrats, the Populists, the foes of expansion, the dissatisfied and the envious should come into power, what kind of an administration would he give us? What would his Cabinet be? Think what an electric spark of confidence would run through every business interest in the country when such a Cabinet was announced as we can readily imagine he would make. More important still we ask the American people whether they will put in the White House the hero of uncounted platforms, the prodigal spendthrift of words, the champion of free silver, the opponent of expansion, the assailant of the courts; or whether they will retain in the Presidency the Union soldier, the leader of the House of Representatives, the trained statesman who has borne victoriously the heavy burdens of the last four years; the champion of protec-

tion and sound money, the fearless supporter of law and order wherever the flag floats. (Applause.)

But there is one question which we will put to the American people in this campaign which includes and outweighs all others. We will say to them, you were in the depths of adversity under the last administration; you are on the heights of prosperity to-day. Will that prosperity continue if you make a change in your President and in the party which administers your government? How long will your good times last if you turn out the Republicans and give political power to those who cry nothing but "Woe! Woe!" the lovers of calamity and foes of prosperity, who hold success in business to be a crime and regard thrift as a misdemeanor? If the Democrats should win do you think business would improve? Do you think prices would remain steady, that wages would rise and employment increase when the result of the election was known? Business confidence rests largely upon sentiment. Do you think that sentiment would be a hopeful one the day after Bryan's election? Business confidence is a delicate plant. Do you think it would flourish with the Democratic party? Do you know that if Bryan were elected the day after the news was flashed over the country wages would go down, prices would decline, and that the great argosy of American business now forging ahead over calm waters, with fair breezes and with swelling canvass, would begin to take in sail and seek the shelter and anchorage of the nearest harbor? Do you not know from recent and bitter experience what that arrest of movement, that fear of the future, means? It means the contraction of business, the reduction of employment, the increase of the unemployed, lower wages, hard times, distress, unhappiness.

We do not say that we have panaceas for every human ill. We do not claim that any policy we, or any one else, can offer will drive from the world sorrow and suffering and poverty, but we say that so far as government and legislation can secure the prosperity and well being of the American people our administration and our policies will do it. (Applause.) We point to the adversity of the Cleveland years lying dark behind us. It has been replaced by the prosperity of the McKinley years. Let them make whatever explanation they will, the facts are with us. (Applause.)

It is on these facts that we shall ask for the support of the American people. What we have done is known, and about what we intend to do there is neither secrecy nor deception. What we promise we will perform. (Applause.) Our old policies are here, alive, successful and full of vigor. Our new policies have been begun and for them we ask support. When the clouds of impending civil war hung dark over the country in 1861 we took up the great task then laid upon us and never flinched until we had carried it through to victory. (Applause.) Now at the dawn of a new century, with new policies and new opportunities opening before us in the bright sunshine of prosperity, we again ask the American people to entrust us with their future. We have profound faith in the people. (Applause.)

We do not distrust their capacity to meet the new responsibilities even as they met the old, and we shall await with confidence, under the leadership of William McKinley, the verdict of November. (Applause.)

PRESENTATION OF GAVELS, ETC.

Mr. CHARLES H. CHILD, of Rhode Island.—Mr. Chairman, I am directed to read the following letters:

PROVIDENCE, R. I., June 19th, 1900.

To the HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE,

Chairman of the National Republican Convention.

DEAR SIR:—The Rhode Island Delegates and Alternates take great pleasure in presenting you this gavel, which was ordered especially for this occasion; thinking it might be of some historical interest to you.

The mahogany of which it is constructed was secured from the old State Capitol, the Tobin bronze is part of that used in the construction of the yacht Columbia, which was built at Bristol, R. I., by the Herreshoff Co.

We trust you will value this as a souvenir of this National Republican Convention, of which you have the honor to be its chairman.

Respectfully yours,

Charles R. Brayton,
Frank F. Carpenter,
Charles H. Child,
Lucius B. Darling,
William P. Buffum,
Joseph E. Fletcher,
B. F. Robinson, Jr.,
Richard Thornley,

Isaac M. Potter,
Elam Ward Olney,
A. S. Babcock,
W. E. Spink,
Henry E. Tiepke,
George L. Pierce,
Samuel L. Peck,
Harry C. Curtis.

TILDEN-THURBER CO.

PROVIDENCE, June 6, 1900.

MR. CHARLES H. CHILD,

DEAR SIR:—In response to your request, we beg to submit to you the following description of the gavel ordered of us to be presented to the Chairman of the National Republican Convention.

We enclose herewith letters from the Herreshoff Mfg. Co. to the Howard Sterling Co., certifying that the Tobin bronze supplied to them was a part of the material used in the construction of the yacht Columbia. Also a guarantee from the Howard Sterling Co., that the material used in the construction of the special gavel is of the said bronze. We also certify that the mahogany in the gavel was secured from the Rhode Island State Capitol, which has just been vacated for the new building. Would also bring to your attention the printed matter on the case, which tells the story.

Yours respectfully,

TILDEN-THURBER CO.

HERRESHOFF MANUFACTURING CO.

BRISTOL, R. I., November 3, 1899.

HOWARD STERLING CO.,

WM. H. LONERGAN, MGR.,
Providence, R. I.

GENTLEMEN:—We hereby certify that the Tobin Bronze Scrap you have purchased from us is a part of the material used in the construction of the yacht "COLUMBIA," that we have not sold any part of same to other parties, nor can other parties purchase same of us.

Respectfully,

HERRESHOFF MFG. CO.

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

HOWARD STERLING CO.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., May 19, 1900.

TILDEN-THURBER CO.,
City.

GENTLEMEN:—We hereby certify that the special gavel No. 100x is made of bronze purchased by us from Herreshoff Mfg. Co., and part of that which was used in construction of yacht "Columbia."

Yours respectfully,

HOWARD STERLING COMPANY.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Colonel Child has presented to the Chairman of the Convention a gavel made in the manner he has described. The Chairman desires to thank him personally most sincerely for this compliment from one of the sister States, but he is well aware that the compliment is paid not to him personally, but as the representative of this great Convention. In its name he takes the liberty of thanking Col. Child and the State of Rhode Island for the gavel to be used during the sessions of the Convention. (Applause.)

Mr. JOHN W. LANGLEY, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman, I desire to present a gavel from the mountains of Kentucky.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. JOHN W. LANGLEY, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: Up among Kentucky's mountains, in the valley of the Big Sandy, there is a humble country home, wherein dwells an old man—a soldier of Republicanism who has spent his life in battling for the redemption of Kentucky from the thralldom of Democracy. He lives at the foot of the hill upon whose summit the great Garfield won a general's star. (Applause.) That home is my home; that old man is my father. (Applause.) He has asked me, Mr. Chairman, to present this gavel to you. It is an unpretentious offering from a modest man, but to me the request bears the potency of a sovereign's decree. It was carved from the tree beside which Garfield stood during the battle of Middle Creek, Kentucky, and beside which he is said to have knelt and asked the God of Battles to give the victory to the Union arms.

Some of Indiana's soldier boys were in that battle (applause), and they displayed the same heroism and the same courageous devotion to duty that are now being displayed by Indiana's great Governor (applause) in giving asylum and protection to him who is the rightful Governor of Kentucky (applause), and who is an exile from his native State to-day, because if there he could not have enforced the constitutional guarantees of life, liberty and due process of law. I do not mean by this to assert that love of liberty is dead in Kentucky, for it still lives in the hearts of all true Kentuckians (applause) and is being suppressed only by unworthy leaders of the people. It will be strengthened by the news of the renomination of McKinley. (Applause.)

I present this gavel to you, Mr. Chairman, as a token of our continued devotion to Republican principles, and as a pledge that Kentucky's electoral vote will be cast next November for McKinley and Roosevelt. (Applause.)

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair extends the thanks of the Convention to the gentleman from Kentucky, who has presented to him this most interesting gavel.

Mr. SEVER E. OLSON, of Minnesota.—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention: At the last two National Conventions of the Republican party there was presented and utilized for the proper purpose a table, the handiwork of the young lads in the manual training class of the South Side High School, in the City of Minneapolis. In 1892 it was used at the National Republican Convention which that year assembled in our beautiful city and which was presided over by that matchless American, the most illustrious citizen of our time, who now is the President of the United States. (Applause.) The first imprint on its surface was made by his magic gavel.

This table was made further historic by being used for a like purpose at the National Republican Convention which assembled in the City of St. Louis in 1896.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention, this pleasing duty has been assigned to me, and on behalf of the youthful craftsmen who constructed it, on behalf of our people who are proud of their skill, and on behalf of the delegation here present from the stalwart North Star State, I ask the privilege of placing this table at your service during the deliberations of the Convention; and its acceptance by you will be a fitting recognition of and encouragement to the educational and industrial interests of our country, which are always foremost and uppermost in the fostering care of the great Republican party. (Applause.)

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In the name of the Convention I accept the table already used at two prior Conventions, and beg to express to you, Mr. Olson, the thanks of the Convention for the kindness of Minnesota in again presenting the table to a Republican National Convention. (Applause.)

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business in order is the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Bingham) is recognized.

Mr. HENRY H. BINGHAM, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, I am directed by the Committee on Rules and Order of Business to report for your consideration and action a body of rules for the governing of this Convention. It is needless for me to submit that the report of the committee is unanimous.

It is proper to state that your committee adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman, so that should the Convention determine in any way to amend or change the rules submitted, the committee can act immediately.

There have been many suggestions as to a change of the rules, especially on the basis of representation as now accepted by conventions upon the basis of votes cast in Congressional districts or other ways of representation. Your committee determined that the better and safer course was to adopt the rules which have governed the National Conventions of four and eight years ago, and to leave any new or additional rules to be the subject of your action here to-day. I will read the rules proposed:

Rule I. The Convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State equal to double the number of each Senator and Representative in Congress; six delegates each from the territories of Arizona, Indian Territory, New Mexico and Oklahoma; four from Alaska, two from the District of Columbia and two from Hawaii.

Rule II. The rules of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-sixth Congress shall be the rules of the Convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the following rules:

Rule III. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand is seconded by two or more States, and the call is sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with, and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule IV. A motion to suspend the rules shall be in order only when made by authority of a majority of the delegates from any State, and seconded by a majority of the delegates from not less than two other States.

Rule V. It shall be in order to lay on the table a proposed amendment to a pending measure, and such motion, if adopted, shall not carry with it, or prejudice such measure.

Rule VI. Upon all subjects before the Convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order and next the Territories, Alaska, the District of Columbia and Hawaii.

Rule VII. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to the nomination of a candidate for President and Vice-President.

Rule VIII. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories, Alaska, The District of Columbia and Hawaii, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories, Alaska, the District of Columbia and Hawaii, in the order heretofore established.

Rule IX. In making the nomination for President and Vice-President in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it appears at the close of any roll call that any candidate has received the majority of votes to which the Convention is entitled, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" If no candidates shall have received such majority, the Chair shall direct the vote to be taken again, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes and when any State has announced its votes it shall so stand, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule X. In the record of the votes, the vote of each State, Territory, Alaska, the District of Columbia and Hawaii shall be announced by the Chairman, and in case the vote of any State, Territory, Alaska, the District of Columbia or Hawaii shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes for any candidate, or for or against any proposition, but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness

of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the vote individually given.

Rule XI. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except in the presentation of the names of candidates.

Rule XII. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, Alaska, The District of Columbia and Hawaii. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, Alaska, the District of Columbia and Hawaii shall name, through its Chairman, a person who shall act as member of said Committee. Such Committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the National Convention within sixty days, at least, before the time fixed for said meeting, and each Congressional District in the United States shall elect its delegates to the National Convention in the same way as the nomination of a member for Congress is made in said District, and in Territories the delegates to the Convention shall be elected in the same way as a nomination of a delegate to Congress is made, and said National Committee shall prescribe the mode of selecting the delegates for the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as a delegate is elected. Delegates at large for each State and their alternates shall be elected by State Conventions in their respective States.

Rule XIII. The Republican National Committee is authorized and empowered to select an Executive Committee to consist of nine members, who may or may not be members of the National Committee.

Rule XIV. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

Rule XV. No person except members of the several delegations and officers of the Convention shall be admitted to that section of the hall apportioned to delegates.

Rule XVI. The Convention shall proceed in the following order of business:

First. Report of the Committee on Credentials.

Second. Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

Third. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Fourth. Naming members of National Committee.

Fifth. Presentation of names of Candidates for President.

Sixth. Balloting.

Seventh. Presentation of names of Candidates for Vice President.

Eighth. Balloting.

Ninth. Call of the roll of States, Territories, Alaska, the District of Columbia and Hawaii for names of Delegates to serve respectively on Committees to notify the nominees for President and Vice-President of their selection for said offices.

I move the adoption of the report of your committee.

Mr. M. S. QUAY, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, to strike out Rule 1 and insert in lieu thereof what I send to the desk.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The amendment proposed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania will be stated.

The READING CLERK.—It is proposed to strike out Rule 1 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

That hereafter each State shall be entitled to four Delegates at Large and one additional Delegate for each ten thousand votes or majority fraction thereof cast at the last preceding Presidential election for Republican electors; and six Delegates from each organized Territory and the District of Columbia; and that the methods for the election of such delegates shall be provided for by the National Committee.

Several delegates addressed the Chair.

Mr. M. S. QUAY, of Pennsylvania.—I believe I still have the floor.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania has the floor, and is entitled under the rule to five minutes.

Mr QUAY, of Pennsylvania.—If the amendment is adopted, Rule 12 will have to be modified to conform to Rule 1, as amended.

I desire, Mr. Chairman, to send to the desk and have read a statement showing the practical effect of the amendment.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks that a statement be read to the Convention by the reading clerk. If there is no objection the statement will be read.

The READING CLERK proceeded to read the statement.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania desire to have the figures read?

Mr. QUAY, of Pennsylvania.—I desire that they be read in order that delegates may understand on what the change proposed is based.

The READING CLERK resumed the reading of the statement, and was interrupted by—

Mr. JOHN McCLURE, of Arkansas.—Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question of order.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Arkansas will state his point of order.

Mr. McCLURE, of Arkansas.—It is that under Rule 14 all resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—This is not a resolution. It is an amendment to the report of the Committee on Rules.

The READING CLERK resumed the reading of the statement, which is as follows:

STATEMENT SHOWING

Number of delegates according to present basis, as compared with basis of one delegate for each 10,000 votes, or majority fraction thereof, cast for President McKinley in 1896. Also, compared with the number of delegates based upon equal representation as stated, to which is added four delegates-at-large from each State.

State.	1896. Rep. Vote.	Delegates according to present repre- sentation.	Delegates on basis 1 for each 10,000 votes.	Delegates on basis 1 for each 10,000 votes with 4 Delegates- at-large from each State.
Alabama	54,737	22	5	9
Arkansas	87,512	16	4	8
California	146,170	18	15	19
Colorado	26,271	8	3	7
Connecticut	110,285	12	11	15
Delaware	16,804	6	2	6
Florida	11,288	8	1	5
Georgia	60,091	26	6	10
Idaho	6,324	6	1	5
Illinois	607,130	48	61	65
Indiana	323,754	30	32	36
Iowa	289,293	26	29	33
Kansas	159,541	20	16	20
Kentucky	218,171	26	22	26
Louisiana	22,037	16	2	6
Maine	80,465	12	8	12
Maryland	186,959	16	14	18
Massachusetts	278,976	30	23	32
Michigan	293,582	28	29	33
Minnesota	193,501	18	19	23
Mississippi	5,130	18	1	5
Missouri	304,940	34	30	34
Montana	10,494	6	1	5
Nebraska	102,304	16	10	14
Nevada	1,938	6	1	5
New Hampshire	57,444	8	6	10
New Jersey	221,367	20	22	26
New York	819,838	72	82	86
North Carolina	155,222	22	16	20
North Dakota	26,335	6	3	7
Ohio	525,991	46	53	57
Oregon	48,779	8	5	9
Pennsylvania	728,300	64	73	77
Rhode Island	87,437	8	4	8
South Carolina	9,281	18	1	5
South Dakota	41,042	8	4	8
Tennessee	148,773	24	15	19
Texas	167,520	30	17	21
Utah	13,484	6	1	5
Vermont	51,127	8	5	9
Virginia	131,368	24	14	18
Washington	39,153	8	4	8
West Virginia	104,414	12	10	14
Wisconsin	268,135	24	27	31
Wyoming	10,072	6	1	5
		894	714	894

STATEMENT SHOWING

- (a) Number of delegates in 1896 Convention from all the States, 894
 (b) Republican vote 1896 in all the States - - 7,104,779
 (c) Average vote per delegate - - - - 7,947
 (d) Republican vote in 1896 in each State.
 (e) Vote per delegate in each State.
 (f) Number of delegates to which each State would be entitled upon equal basis of representation according to Republican vote in 1896.

States.	1896 Rep. Vote.	Vote per Delegate.	Present Basis No. Delegates.	Equal Represen- tation No. Del.
Alabama	54,787	2,488	22	7
Arkansas	87,512	2,345	16	5
California	146,170	8,121	18	18
Colorado	26,171	3,284	8	3
Connecticut	110,285	9,190	12	14
Delaware	16,804	2,801	6	2
Florida	11,288	1,411	8	1
Georgia	60,091	2,311	26	8
Idaho	6,324	1,054	6	1
Illinois	607,130	12,649	48	76
Indiana	323,754	10,792	30	41
Iowa	289,293	11,127	26	36
Kansas	159,541	7,977	20	20
Kentucky	218,171	8,391	26	27
Louisiana	22,037	1,377	16	3
Maine	80,465	6,705	12	10
Maryland	136,959	8,560	16	17
Massachusetts	273,976	9,299	30	35
Michigan	238,582	10,485	28	37
Minnesota	198,501	10,750	18	24
Mississippi	5,130	285	18	1
Missouri	304,940	8,969	34	38
Montana	10,494	1,749	6	1
Nebraska	102,304	6,394	16	13
Nevada	1,988	323	6	1
New Hampshire	57,444	7,181	8	7
New Jersey	221,367	11,068	20	23
New York	819,888	11,387	72	103
North Carolina	155,222	7,056	22	20
North Dakota	26,335	4,389	6	3
Ohio	525,991	11,435	46	66
Oregon	48,779	6,097	8	6
Pennsylvania	728,300	11,380	64	92
Rhode Island	37,437	4,680	8	5
South Carolina	9,281	516	18	1
South Dakota	41,042	5,130	8	5
Tennessee	148,773	6,199	24	19
Texas	167,520	5,584	30	21
Utah	13,484	2,247	6	2
Vermont	51,127	6,391	8	6
Virginia	135,368	5,640	24	17
Washington	39,153	4,894	8	5
West Virginia	104,414	8,701	12	13
Wisconsin	268,135	11,172	24	34
Wyoming	10,072	1,679	6	1
			894	893

The reading of the statement was interrupted by—

Mr. QUAY, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, the reading of the statement will be somewhat protracted. The amendment involves a very radical change in the base of representation, and the Convention can scarcely, from the bare reading of the statement by the clerk at the desk, know exactly what it is proposed to vote on, if we proceed to take a vote now.

I suggest to the distinguished Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business that a vote be now taken upon every rule except Rule 1 and Rule 12, and that the reading of the statement be suspended. (Cries of "platform!")

Mr. JOSEPH B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—Delegates here request that the gentleman from Pennsylvania take the platform, so that we can hear what he has to say.

Mr. Quay ascended the platform, and was greeted with prolonged cheering.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair begs that order will be preserved. Otherwise the absolute suspension of business will be necessary.

Mr. QUAY, of Pennsylvania.—The suggestion which I desire to make to the Chair is that the clerk suspend the reading of the statement, which is somewhat prolix. It will appear in the newspapers of this city in the evening, as a matter of course, in connection with the proceedings of the Convention. I suggest to the distinguished Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business that he have a vote upon the adoption of every rule except Rule 1 and Rule 12, which alone are affected by this amendment, and allow those two rules to stand over until the meeting of the Convention to-morrow morning, when I will call them up for the deliberate action of the Convention.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania requests that Rules 1 and 12, the only rules affected by his amendment, may be passed over for the present and their consideration postponed until to-morrow, and that the remainder of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business be now acted upon. Is there objection?

SEVERAL DELEGATES.—I object.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Objection is made. It is the right of the gentleman from Pennsylvania to demand a division of the question. The matter of postponement can only be the subject of a separate motion. The Chair submitted it in the form of a request for unanimous consent.

Mr. JOHN E. MCCALL, of Tennessee.—Mr. Chairman, there is opposition to this amendment, and we desire to be heard fully before the Convention is asked or required to submit to a vote on a question so important and vital to Southern Republicans. (Applause.) If it is the purpose to have the amendment passed over until to-morrow, in order that we may be heard fully, we will submit; but if it is the purpose to cut off debate, so that

the Convention may not understand fully what is meant by the amendment, we desire to be heard now.

Mr. QUAY, of Pennsylvania.—I will say to the delegate from Tennessee that it is in order that the amendment may be fully understood that I suggested a postponement of its consideration until to-morrow.

Mr. JOHN R. LYNCH, of Mississippi.—In order that the Convention may have before it every phase of this question, I desire to submit a proposition, which has a direct bearing upon the question, as a substitute for the amendment proposed by Mr. Quay. Let it be read, and then let them go over and be considered together. I offer this as a substitute, and desire to have it read from the desk.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Mississippi has a right to offer a substitute. The substitute proposed by the gentleman from Mississippi for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. QUAY) will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

"In any State wherein the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants thereof on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, or wherein said right is in any way abridged for the same reason, representation in Congress should be reduced in the proportion which the whole number of male inhabitants so deprived of the right to vote shall bear to the whole number of male inhabitants twenty-one years of age in such State."

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the substitute submitted by the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. LYNCH) for the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. QUAY).

Mr. LYNCH, of Mississippi.—If it is the desire of the Convention to postpone this matter until to-morrow, I shall have nothing more to say to-day.

Mr. QUAY, of Pennsylvania.—I have no objection to—

Mr. LYNCH, of Mississippi.—When it does come up we want to be heard fully.

Mr. FLAVEL MCGEE, of New Jersey.—Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from New Jersey rises to a point of order. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. MCGEE, of New Jersey.—The point of order is that the amendment is not germane to the matter before the Convention.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair sustains the point of order. It is clearly not germane to the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. The gentleman from Pennsylvania demands a division.

Mr. H. H. BINGHAM, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman—

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—On that question the Chairman of the Committee desires to be heard.

Mr. P. L. SOPER, of the Indian Territory.—With the consent of the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania, I move to strike out the word “organized,” preceding the word “Territory.” The Indian Territory has 450,000 people, and it is governed directly by Congress. It certainly should have representation in conventions.

Mr. QUAY, of Pennsylvania.—I suggest that the word “organized” be stricken out by unanimous consent. There is no objection to striking it out.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Without objection, the word “organized,” before the word “Territory,” will be stricken out. That suggestion is accepted by the mover of the amendment. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania now reads as modified at the suggestion of the gentleman from the Indian Territory.

Mr. H. H. BINGHAM, of Pennsylvania.—As I stated to the Convention in the few remarks I made, the general proposition of representation had no consideration before your committee, for the reason that it was not submitted. The committee adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman, in order that any action of the Convention which would send the rules back could be duly considered.

However, the gentleman, under the rules of the House of Representatives, of his own right demands a division of the question, and asks that Rule 1 and Rule 12, with his amendment and such other amendments as may be in order, go over until to-morrow. As the body of rules are necessary for the government of the Convention in permanent organization, I think it wise to accept a division of the question and to ask for the adoption of all of the rules except Rule 1 and Rule 12.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The request is made that the consideration of Rule 1 and Rule 12 may be postponed until to-morrow, and that the other rules may be disposed of at this time.

Mr. GEORGE H. WHITE, of North Carolina.—Mr. Chairman, I desire to have Rules 1 and 12 re-read.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The rules have already been read from the desk. Does the gentleman from North Carolina ask that they be read again?

Mr. GEORGE H. WHITE, of North Carolina.—I ask that Rule 1 and Rule 12 be re-read, so that we may thoroughly understand the distinction.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Rules 1 and 12 will be read again, at the request of the gentleman from North Carolina.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Rule I. The Convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State equal to double the number of each Senator and Representative in Congress; six delegates each from the Territories of Arizona, Indian Territory, New Mexico and Oklahoma; four from Alaska, two from the District of Columbia and two from Hawaii.

Rule XII. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, Alaska, the District of Columbia and Hawaii. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, Alaska, the District of Columbia and Hawaii shall name, through its Chairman, a person who shall act as member of said Committee. Such Committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the National Convention within sixty days, at least, before the time fixed for said meeting, and each Congressional District in the United States shall elect its delegates to the National Convention in the same way as the nomination of a member for Congress is made in said District, and in Territories the delegates to the Convention shall be elected in the same way as a nomination of a delegate to Congress is made, and said National Committee shall prescribe the mode of selecting the delegates for the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as a delegate is elected. Delegates at large for each State and their alternates shall be elected by State Conventions in their respective States.

Mr. JOHN E. McCALL, of Tennessee.—I rise to ask a question for information. Is the motion to defer until to-morrow debatable? If so I desire to be heard in opposition to it.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair supposes it is open to debate, it being a motion to refer to a time certain.

Mr. McCALL, of Tennessee.—Then I desire to be heard.

Mr. SERENO E. PAYNE, of New York.—I make the point of order that there is no motion to refer before the Convention.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Unanimous consent has been asked that Rules 1 and 12 be passed over until to-morrow, and that the remainder of the report be now disposed of.

Mr. PAYNE, of New York.—That is true. Unanimous consent—

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair now submits to the Convention the request for unanimous consent.

Mr. PAYNE, of New York.—That was objected to.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. QUAY) requests that Rules 1 and 12 be passed over until to-morrow, and that they be made the unfinished business, and that the remainder of the report be disposed of now. Is there objection?

Mr. McCALL, of Tennessee.—I desire to ask a question for information. Will this matter, if passed over until to-morrow, be disposed of before the nominations of candidates for President and Vice President are made?

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—In the opinion of the Chair it will come up the first thing in the morning as the unfinished business.

Mr. McCALL, of Tennessee.—I have no further objection.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Is there objection to the request as stated by the Chair?

Mr. JOHN McCLURE, of Arkansas.—I object.



HON. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, of Indiana,
Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Objection is made. The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania to Rule 1.

Mr. SYDNEY E. MUDD, of Maryland.—I move that the consideration of the amendments which have been offered be postponed, to come up immediately after the convening of this body to-morrow.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. MUDD) moves that Rules 1 and 12, with the proposed amendments, be postponed until to-morrow, to come up immediately after the assembling of the Convention.

Mr. T. B. WALL, of Kansas.—On behalf of Kansas, I second the motion.

Mr. QUAY, of Pennsylvania.—I second the motion on the part of Pennsylvania.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The motion being duly seconded, the question is on postponing Rules 1 and 12, with the proposed amendments, until to-morrow immediately after the assembling of the Convention.

The motion was agreed to.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question recurs on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania to adopt the remainder of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

The motion was agreed to.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business in order is the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, of Indiana.—Mr. Chairman—

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, of Indiana, read the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM—1900.

The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives, met in National Convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, entrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate and a Republican Congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed and the National credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and

its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value. The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. This commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any Government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any other nation. Capital is fully employed and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican Government means to the country than this—That while during the whole period of one hundred and seven years from 1790 to 1897 there was an excess of exports over imports of only \$383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of \$1,483,537,094.

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of National aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American Government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action. Its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors, and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given "a new birth of freedom," and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

We endorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the Government and in its ability to deal

intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is announced, halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day. We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices; and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

We renew our faith in the policy of Protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world. We favor the associated policy

of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets.

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The National defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade carrying fleets of the world.

The Nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the Government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws, founded in this just sentiment, should be liberal and should be liberally administered; and preference should be given wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

We commend the policy of the Republican party in the efficiency of the Civil Service. The Administration has acted wisely in its efforts to secure for public service in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined as far as practicable to their inhabitants.

It was the plain purpose of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary, and should be condemned.

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the Legislatures of the several States.

We favor the extension of the Rural Free Delivery service wherever its extension may be justified.

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and territories.

We favor home rule for, and the early admission to statehood of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma.

The Dingley Act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of \$40,000,000. So ample are the Government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly-funded two per cent. bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about, a reduction of the war taxes.

We favor the construction, ownership, control and protection of an Isthmian Canal by the Government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the Administration is warmly to be commended for its successful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries in the charge of a Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet. The United States Consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new Department upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the Nation's increasing trade.

The American Government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the volunteer aid association and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry.

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa, his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific, every American interest has been safeguarded.

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

We commend the part taken by our Government in the Peace Conference at the Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine. The provisions of the Hague Convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic. While the American Government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President and imposed upon us by the Hague treaty of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be

found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

In accepting by the Treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish war, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the Western Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world, and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations. Our authority could not be less than our responsibility; and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples.

The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

The Republican party, upon its history, and upon this declaration of principles and policies confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS,

EDWARD ROSEWATER,

Chairman.

Secretary.

Mr. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, of Indiana.—By direction of the Committee on Resolutions, I move the adoption of the report, and upon that I demand the previous question.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The previous question is demanded by the gentleman from Indiana. Is it seconded? Under the rules two States must second the demand.

Mr. W. J. SEWELL, of New Jersey.—I do not think there is a particle of objection to it. Unanimous consent will be given.

Mr. H. C. HANSBROUGH, of North Dakota.—On behalf of North Dakota I second the demand.

Mr. ROBERT METZGER, of Indiana.—I second the demand on the part of Indiana.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The demand being duly seconded, the question is, shall the previous question be ordered?

The previous question was ordered.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

The report was unanimously agreed to.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE.

Mr. JOSEPH B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman—

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business is the nomination of members of the National Republican Committee.

Mr. FORAKER, of Ohio.—I was about to make a motion to adjourn. In view of the announcement just made by the Chairman, I will withhold the motion until the business can be transacted.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The roll of States, etc., will be called for National Committeemen. The chairman of each delegation is requested to announce the name of the member of the National Republican Committee from his State, Territory or the District of Columbia.

The READING CLERK proceeded to call the roll of States, etc.

Mr. P. D. BARKER, of Alabama (when Alabama was called).—Owing to the contest, which was only settled this morning, our delegation has not been able to agree on the member of the National Committee.

Mr. W. T. BURNS, of Texas (when Texas was called).—I ask that Texas be passed for the time being.

Mr. H. M. WELLS, of Utah (when Utah was called).—On the question of National Committeeman, the delegation is divided, one half being in favor of O. J. Salisbury and the other in favor of W. T. McCornick.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Utah will be passed, the delegation being equally divided.

The call of the roll of States, etc., was concluded. As finally made up the National Republican Committee is as follows:

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE.

Alabama.....	J. W. DIMMICK
Arkansas	POWELL CLAYTON
California.....	W. C. VAN FLEET
Colorado.....	EDWARD O. WOLCOTT
Connecticut.....	CHARLES F. BROOKER
Delaware.....	JOHN EDWARD ADDICKS
Florida.....	JOHN G. LONG
Georgia.....	JUDSON W. LYONS
Idaho.....	GEORGE L. SHOUP
Illinois	GRAEME STEWART
Indiana.....	HARRY S. NEW
Iowa.....	ERNEST E. HART
Kansas.....	DAVID W. MULVANE
Kentucky.....	JOHN W. YERKES
Louisiana.....	A. T. WIMBERLY
Maine.....	JOSEPH H. MANLEY
Maryland.....	L. E. McCOMAS
Massachusetts.....	GEO. VAN L. MEYER
Michigan.....	WILLIAM H. ELLIOTT
Minnesota.....	THOMAS H. SHEVLIN
Mississippi.....	H. C. TURLEY
Missouri.....	RICHARD C. KERENS

Montana.....	WILLIAM H. DEWITT
Nebraska.....	R. B. SNYDER
Nevada.....	P. L. FLANNIGAN
New Hampshire.....	CHAS. S. MEANS
New Jersey.....	FRANKLIN MURPHY
New York.....	FREDERICK S. GIBBS
North Carolina.....	J. E. BOYD
North Dakota.....	ALEX. MCKENZIE
Ohio.....	GEORGE B. COX
Oregon.....	GEORGE A. STEED
Pennsylvania.....	MATTHEW S. QUAY
Rhode Island.....	CHAS. R. BRAYTON
South Carolina.....	E. A. WEBSTER
South Dakota.....	A. M. GREEN
Tennessee.....	WALTER P. BROWNLOW
Texas.....	R. B. HAWLEY
Utah.....	O. J. SALISBURY
Vermont.....	JAMES W. BROCK
Virginia.....	GEO. E. BOWDEN
Washington.....	GEO. H. BAKER
West Virginia.....	N. B. SCOTT
Wisconsin.....	HENRY C. PAYNE
Wyoming.....	WILLIS VAN DEVANTER
District of Columbia.....	M. M. PARKER
Alaska.....	JOHN G. HEID
Arizona.....	WILLIAM M. GRIFFITH
Indian Territory.....	WM. M. MELLETTE
New Mexico.....	SOLOMON LUNA
Oklahoma.....	WILLIAM GRIMES
Hawaii.....	HAROLD M. SEWALL

(Note: When the name of Hon. M. S. Quay was announced as member of the Republican National Committee from Pennsylvania, he was tendered an ovation lasting several minutes.—Ed.)

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The roll of States, etc., will now be called for honorary Vice-Presidents of the Convention.

The roll of States, etc., was called. As finally made up the list of Honorary Vice-Presidents is as follows:

Alabama.....	FRANK H. LOTHROP
Arkansas.....	CHAS. D. GRAVES
California.....	H. G. BOND
Colorado.....	W. S. STRATTON
Connecticut.....	JOSEPH R. HAWLEY
Delaware.....	HIRAM R. BURTON
Florida.....	H. S. CHUBB
Georgia.....	J. J. HAMILTON
Idaho.....	L. L. ORMSBEE
Illinois.....	CHAS. H. DEERE
Indiana.....	JAMES A. MOUNT
Iowa.....	CHAS. M. HINSDALE
Kansas.....	W. S. METCALF
Kentucky.....	R. P. STOLL

Louisiana.....	W. J. BEHAN
Maine.....	WALDO PETTINGILL
Maryland.....	W. E. MALSTER
Massachusetts.....	F. W. ROCKWELL
Michigan.....	REA BARKER
Minnesota.....	GEO. FITZ SIMMONS
Mississippi.....	F. W. COLLINS
Missouri.....	NATHAN FRANK
Montana.....	DAVID E. FOLSOM
Nebraska.....	JNO. D. HASKELL
Nevada.....	M. C. McMILLAN
New Hampshire.....	FRANK JONES
New Jersey.....	F. M. VOORHEES
New York.....	FRANK S. BLACK
North Carolina.....	S. B. ADAMS
North Dakota.....	H. L. HOLMES
Ohio.....	JAMES BARNETT
Oregon.....	F. S. STANLEY
Pennsylvania.....	SAMUEL B. DICK
Rhode Island.....	W. P. BUFFUM
South Carolina.....	JOHN F. JONES
South Dakota.....	A. H. BETTS
Tennessee.....	JOHN J. GRAHAM
Texas.....	JOHN GRANT
Utah.....	ARTHUR BROWN
Vermont.....	HENRY C. BATES
Virginia.....	W. C. FRANKLIN
Washington.....	N. B. COFFMAN
West Virginia.....	S. H. GRAMM
Wisconsin.....	J. H. STOUT
Wyoming.....	DeFORREST RICHARDS
District of Columbia.....	J. E. JONES
Alaska.....	W. D. GRANT
Arizona.....	J. W. DORRINGTON
Indian Territory.....	LEO E. BENNETT
New Mexico.....	W. H. LLEWELLYN
Oklahoma.....	D. F. FLYNN
Hawaii.....	SAMUEL PARKER

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—I move that the Convention adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Ohio that the Convention adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was agreed to, and (at 3 o'clock and 12 minutes P. M.) the Convention adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, June 21, 1900, at 10 o'clock A. M.

THIRD DAY

PRAYER BY ARCHBISHOP RYAN—REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES ADOPTED—NOMINATION OF WILLIAM McKINLEY FOR PRESIDENT—ADDRESSES BY SENATOR FORAKER, OF OHIO, GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT, OF NEW YORK, JOHN W. YERKES, OF KENTUCKY, GEORGE A. KNIGHT, OF CALIFORNIA, GOVERNOR MOUNT, OF INDIANA—THE VOTE FOR PRESIDENT—NOMINATION OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT FOR VICE PRESIDENT—ADDRESSES BY LAFAYTTE YOUNG, OF IOWA, M. J. MURRAY, OF MASSACHUSETTS, J. M. ASHTON, OF WASHINGTON—SENATOR DEPEW, OF NEW YORK—THE VOTE FOR VICE PRESIDENT—RESOLUTIONS—VACANCIES ON NATIONAL COMMITTEE—THANKS TO OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION—THANKS TO THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA—COMMITTEES TO NOTIFY THE CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT—ADJOURNMENT.

CONVENTION HALL

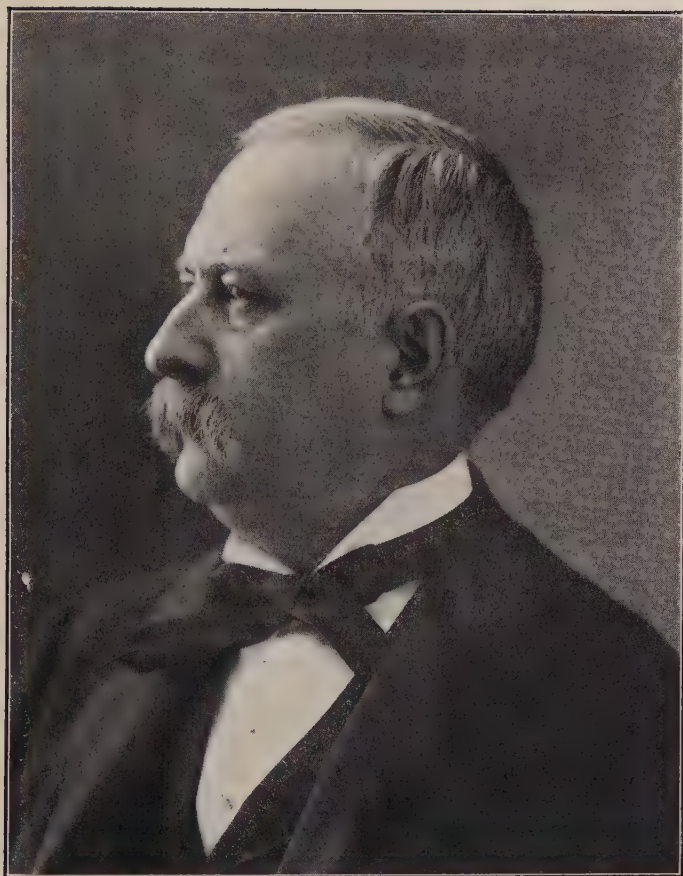
PHILADELPHIA, PENNA., Thursday, June 21, 1900.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (at 10 o'clock and 36 minutes A. M.).—The Convention will come to order. Most Rev. Archbishop Ryan will offer prayer.

PRAYER OF MOST REV. P. J. RYAN, ARCHBISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA.

Most Rev. Archbishop P. J. Ryan, of Philadelphia, offered the following prayer:

In the spirit of deep reverence and filial affection let us pray to the Father, and the Son and the Holy Ghost. O Eternal and Most Sacred God! Father, Son and Holy Spirit, we believe Thee here present. We adore Thee. We praise Thee. We thank Thee. We lift our voices to Thee, Father, in the prayer given to us by Thy Son: Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done



HON. JOSEPH B. FORAKER, of Ohio,
Who Made the Address Nominating William McKinley for President.

on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen. And Thou, O Eternal Son of the Father, "the figure of his substance and the splendor of His high glory," the light of light, who enlightens every man who cometh into this World, Thou who as I speak, sitteth at the right hand of the Father; O Son of the living God, bless this mighty assembly, bless this nation and its rulers. Send down Wisdom that sitteth by Thy throne that she may illumine the intellects and purify the hearts of the whole people and their rulers, that she may suggest that which will be permanently useful to the great body of the people; that she may elevate above all personal and mere party considerations the great ruling power and give to it a consciousness of the awful responsibility of being minister of God's power to His people, because from Thee, O Lord, through the people, come all power and dominion, and therefore the temporal ruler is also the minister of the Most High. Elevate the intellects and hearts and feelings to this plane on which alone and from which alone humanity can be ruled, and men bow to the authority of their fellow men, as wielding Thy delegated power.

And Thou, O Spirit of God, spirit of unity, spirit of love, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, O Thou who restored order amid chaos, in the morning of the creation, grant order and unity to this great people, and preserve its institutions. As at Pentecost, when Thou didst descend and all the various nations of the earth heard, each man in his own tongue, the wonderful works of God, and the unity lost at Babel was restored in Jerusalem, so may the congregated races of this land hear the one voice of authority and obey it. And may there be not only a union of authority, but a union of affection. Let us love one another.

Let all the people, in this land unite; we are all of the same destiny, alike in joy, alike in suffering, travelling through the dark passes of this valley of tears; let all love one another as we have so much in common. And also, O Spirit of God, if in the past there have been any races to whom this charity has not been extended, in the future let it be manifested. Let not the people whose fathers were enslaved, be made to feel their inferiority. The children of the forest, whose fathers once owned the glorious mountains and rivers and rich plains and laughing valleys of this land, O let them also be considered more favorably. Let us discharge faithfully and perseveringly our duty towards them.

O Eternal Spirit, spirit of love, spirit of unity, banish all religious bigotry from this glorious young nation. Let us all, whilst prepared to die for every doctrine in which we believe, not allow this to interfere with our brotherly affection. As our Divine Lord who said "salvation is of the Jews," did also give to man for all time the heterodox Samaritan as the example of true fraternal affection, so would he have us know that difference of religion should not impede practical common works of charity.

In fine, O Spirit of God, look down upon this united people. O look down upon the blood that leaps through its veins, the rejuvenated blood of the old races that Thou didst bless in the past. Give us love for Thee, loyalty to Thee, our God, loyalty to our country, loyalty to the common flag, that walking in the light of intelligence, and in the vigor of chastity, we may work out our manifest destiny as a people during time, and in eternity join the chorus of all the nations of the universe, singing forever "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." Amen.

RULES I AND XII.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The first business in order is the unfinished business coming over from yesterday, and on that the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. QUAY).

Mr. M. S. QUAY, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. Chairman, I take the floor simply for the purpose of withdrawing, with the consent of the Convention, the amendment I offered yesterday to the report of the Committee on Rules.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania withdraws the amendment which he yesterday offered to the report of the Committee on Rules. The question is on agreeing to Rules I and 12 as reported by the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Rules I and XII were agreed to.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The rules have now been adopted as a whole.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business in order is the nomination of a candidate for President of the United States. (Applause.) The Clerk will call the roll of States, etc., for the presentation of the names of candidates.

The READING CLERK proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. P. D. BARKER, of Alabama (when Alabama was called).—Alabama yields to Ohio.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Alabama yields to Ohio.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman—

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. FORAKER).

NOMINATING SPEECH OF HON. J. B. FORAKER, OF OHIO.

Mr. JOSEPH B. FORAKER, of Ohio:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: Alabama yields to Ohio, and I thank Alabama for that accommodation. Alabama has so yielded, however, by reason of a fact that would seem in an important sense to make the duty that has been assigned to me a superfluous duty, for Alabama has yielded because our candidate for the Presidency has,

in effect, been already nominated. (Applause.) He was nominated by the distinguished Senator from Colorado when he assumed the duties of temporary chairman. He was nominated again yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts when he took the office of permanent chairman; and he was nominated for a third time when the Senator from Indiana yesterday read us the platform. (Applause.) And not only has he been thus nominated by this Convention, but he has also been nominated by the whole American people. (Applause.)

From one end of the land to the other, in every mind only one and the same man is thought of for the honor which we are now about to confer, and that man is the first choice of every other man who wishes Republican success next November. (Applause.)

On this account it is that it is not necessary for me or any one else to speak for him here or elsewhere. He has already spoken for himself (applause), and to all the world. He has a record replete with brilliant achievements (applause), a record that speaks at once both his promises and his highest eulogy.

It comprehends both peace and war, and constitutes the most striking illustration possible of triumphant and inspiring fidelity and success in the discharge of public duty.

Four years ago the American people confided to him their highest and most sacred trust. Behold, with what results!

He found the industries of the country paralyzed and prostrated; he quickened them with a new life that has brought to the American people a prosperity unprecedented in all their history.

He found the labor of the country everywhere idle; he has given it everywhere employment. He found it everywhere in despair; he has made it everywhere prosperous and buoyant with hope.

He found the mills and shops and factories and mines everywhere closed; they are everywhere now open. (Applause.) And while we here deliberate they are sending their surplus products in commercial conquest to the ends of the earth.

Under his wise guidance our financial standard has been firmly planted high above and beyond assault, and the wild cry of sixteen to one, so full of terror in 1896, has been hushed to everlasting sleep alongside of the lost cause, and other cherished Democratic heresies, in the catacombs of American politics. (Applause.)

With a diplomacy never excelled and rarely equalled he has overcome what at times seemed to be insurmountable difficulties, and has not only opened to us the door of China, but he has advanced our interests in every land.

Mr. Chairman, we are not surprised by this, for we anticipated it all. When we nominated him at St. Louis four years ago, we knew he was wise, we knew he was brave, we knew he was patient, we knew he would be faithful and devoted, and we knew that the greatest possible triumphs of peace

would be his; but we then little knew that he would be called upon to encounter also the trials of war. That unusual emergency came. It came unexpectedly—as wars generally come. It came in spite of all he could honorably do to avert it. It came to find the country unprepared for it, but it found him equal to all its extraordinary requirements. (Applause.)

It is no exaggeration to say that in all American history there is no chapter more brilliant than that which chronicles, with him as our commander-in-chief, our victories on land and sea. (Applause.)

In one hundred days we drove Spain from the Western Hemisphere, girdled the earth with our acquisitions and filled the world with the splendor of our power. (Applause.)

In consequence the American name has a greater significance now. Our flag has a new glory. It not only symbolizes human liberty and political equality at home, but it means freedom and independence for the long-suffering patriots of Cuba, and complete protection, education, enlightenment, uplifting and ultimate local self-government and the enjoyment of all the blessings of liberty to the millions of Porto Rico and the Philippines. What we have so gloriously done for ourselves we propose most generously to do for them. (Applause.) We have so declared in the platform that we have here adopted. A fitting place it is for this party to make such declaration, here in this magnificent city of Philadelphia, where the evidences so abound of the rich blessings the Republican party has brought to the American people. Here at the birthplace of the nation, where our own declaration of independence was adopted and our Constitution was framed; where Washington and Jefferson and Hancock and John Adams and their illustrious associates wrought their immortal work; here where center so many historic memories that stir the blood, flush the cheek, and excite the sentiments of liberty, humanity and patriotism is indeed a most fitting place for the party of Lincoln and Grant and Garfield and Blaine (applause), the party of Union and Liberty for all men, to formally dedicate themselves to this great duty.

We are now in the midst of its discharge. We could not turn back if we would, and would not if we could. (Applause.) We are on trial before the world, and must triumphantly meet our responsibilities, or ignominiously fail in the presence of mankind.

These responsibilities speak to this Convention here and now, and command us that we choose to be our candidate and the next President—which is one and the same thing—the best fitted man for the discharge of this great duty in all the Republic. (Applause.)

On that point there is no difference of opinion. No man in all the nation is so well qualified for this trust as the great leader under whom the work has been so far conducted. He has the head, he has the heart, he has the special knowledge and the special experience that qualify him beyond all others. And, Mr. Chairman, he has also the stainless reputation and character, and has the blameless life that endear him to his countrymen

and give to him the confidence, the respect, the admiration, the love and the affection of the whole American people. (Applause.)

He is an ideal man, representing the highest type of American citizenship, an ideal candidate and an ideal President. With our banner in his hands it will be carried to triumphant victory in November. (Applause.)

In the name of all these considerations, not alone on behalf of his beloved State of Ohio, but on behalf of every other State and Territory here represented, and in the name of all Republicans everywhere throughout our jurisdiction, I nominate to be our next candidate for the Presidency, William McKinley. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, OF NEW YORK.

Mr. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, of New York.—Mr. Chairman and my fellow delegates, my beloved Republicans and Americans, I rise to second the nomination of William McKinley, the President who has had to face more numerous and graver problems than any other President since the days of the mighty Lincoln, and who has faced them. (Applause.)

Four years ago the Republicans made William McKinley their nominee for President. The Republican nominee, even before a fortnight had passed, he had become the candidate not merely of all Republicans but of all Americans far-sighted enough to see where the true interests of the nation lay, and keenly sensitive to the national honor. (Applause.) Four years ago we were confronted with the gravest crisis which this nation has had to face since Appomattox was won and the civil war came to a close. (Applause.) We were confronted by a situation where, if our opponents had triumphed, it meant not only an immense aggravation of the existing and already well-nigh intolerable physical distress, but a stain on the national honor so deep that a generation would have had to pass away before it could have been wiped out. (Applause.)

We appealed to the nation to put William McKinley in the first place on the two simple issues that if he were elected prosperity would come to the country and the country's honor would be upheld at home and abroad. (Applause.) We did not promise the impossible. We did not say that prosperity would come to every man, no matter whether that man did or did not try to get it. In the long run each man's own thrift, industry and energy must be the prime factors in determining his success. (Applause.) No legislation can supply their lack, but it is easy enough, by unwise or dishonest legislation or administration, to nullify them absolutely, and it is, though less easy, possible by good administration, clean and wise legislation, to give them the freest possible scope. And it was that scope which we promised should be given.

Well, we kept our word. The opportunity was given, and it was seized by American energy, ingenuity and thrift, with the result that this country now, as we sit here, has reached a pitch of prosperity never before attained in the nation's history.

So it has been in foreign affairs. Four years ago the nation was uneasy because at our very doors an American Island was writhing in hideous agony under a worse than mediaeval despotism. We had our Armenia at our threshold. The situation in Cuba had become such that we could no longer stand quiet and retain one shred of self-respect. The President faced this duty as he faced all others. (Applause.) He exhausted every expedient to get Spain to withdraw peacefully from the island which she was impotent to do aught than oppress, and when every peaceful means had failed, we drew the sword and waged the most righteous and brilliantly successful foreign war that this generation has seen. (Applause.)

It was not a great war because it did not have to be (laughter); because when we could accomplish a result with one finger, we did not need to exert all our strength. But it was momentous indeed in its effect. And like every other great feat that has ever been performed in the history of humanity, it left those who performed it not only a heritage of honor, but a heritage of responsibility. (Applause.) Great is our responsibility; heavy indeed; and we are meeting it as it must be met when President McKinley sends to the Island men like Wood, and Taft, and Allen; men whose names are synonyms of integrity and honesty, and earnest of the fact that we intend that in those islands liberty, justice and orderly law shall prevail from now onward. (Applause.)

This is what the nation has done during the three years of President McKinley's administration, and this is what he stands for and typifies. To him it has been given—and thrice blessed the man to whom such is given—to embody in his own personality all that is loftiest, most earnest, most disinterested in the Nation's hope, in the Nation's desire, and to represent the Nation's strength in the struggle for righteousness. (Applause.)

We have done so well that our opponents actually use the fact as an argument for turning us out. (Laughter.) We have put our economic policy on a basis so stable, we have enacted such wise financial legislation that they turn to the wise and honest men who deserted them at the last election and beg them to come back and support them now because even if they do get in we will prevent them from doing the harm they would like to do. (Laughter and applause.) I am not exaggerating. That is the exact argument they use; and to all who might be affected by it let me address one word of warning. Wise legislation is vitally important, but honest administration is even more important. (Applause.) No matter how perfect our financial legislation, if the management of the national finances were entrusted to any man who would be acceptable to the Populist Democracy of to-day, we should be plunged back into an abyss of shame, disgrace and business chaos.

Our opponents have not any more even the poor excuse of honesty for their folly. They have raved against trusts, they have foamed at the mouth in prating of impossible remedies they would like to adopt; and now in my own State we have discovered all of the chief leaders of the Democracy,

including that leader before whom the other lesser leaders stand with bared heads and trembling knees (laughter) in a trust which really is of infamous and perhaps of criminal character. (Applause.) These apostles of Democracy, these prophets of the new dispensation, have themselves been discovered in a trust through which they hope to wring fortunes for themselves from the dire needs of their poorer brethren. (Applause.) I pity the Democratic orator who in New York State this fall speaks the word "trusts." (Laughter.)

Now for the Philippines. The insurrection still goes on because the allies in this country of the bloody insurrectionary oligarchy in Luzon have taught their foolish dupes to believe that Democratic success at the polls next November means the abandonment of the islands to the savages, who would scramble for the bloody plunder until some other strong civilized nation came in to do the work that we would have shown ourselves unfit to perform. (Applause.) Our success in November means peace in the islands. The success of our opponents means an indefinite prolongation of the present bloody struggle.

We nominate President McKinley because he stands indeed for honesty at home and for honor abroad (applause); because he stands for the continuance of the material prosperity which has brought comfort to every home in the Union; and because he stands for that kind of policy which consists in making performance square with promise. (Applause.)

We stand on the threshold of a new century big with the fate of mighty nations. It rests with us now to decide whether in the opening years of that century we shall march forward to fresh triumphs or whether at the outset we shall cripple ourselves for the contest. Is America a weakling, to shrink from the world-work of the great world-powers? (Applause.) No. The young giant of the West stands on a continent and clasps the crest of an ocean in either hand. (Applause.) Our nation, glorious in youth and strength, looks into the future with eager eyes and rejoices as a strong man to run a race. We do not stand in craven mood asking to be spared the task, cringing as we look on the contest. No. We challenge the proud privilege of doing the work that Providence allots us, and we face the coming years high of heart and resolute of faith that to our people is given the right to win such honor and renown as has never yet been vouchsafed to the nations of mankind. (Great applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN M. THURSTON, OF NEBRASKA.

Mr. JOHN M. THURSTON, of Nebraska.—Gentlemen of the Convention: There are voices to-day more powerful and eloquent than those of men seconding the nomination of William McKinley. They come from the forest, and the farm, the mountain and the valley, the North, the South, the East and the West. They are the voices of happy homes, of gladdened hearts, of bustling, toiling, striving, earnest, prosperous millions, of re-

established business, re-employed labor, re-opened factories, renewed national credit and faith. (Applause.)

In all the whole broad land every furnace fire that roars, every spindle that sings, every whistle that blows, every mountain torrent set to toil, every anvil that rings, every locomotive that screams, every steamship that plows the main, every mighty wheel that turns, are all joining in the glad, grand voice of prosperous, progressive, patriotic America, seconding the nomination of our great President, William McKinley. (Applause.)

And who is William McKinley?

Born of the common people, struggling up through the environments of humble boyhood and toil, he stands to-day 'before the world—the foremost representative of all that is most glorious and grand in our uplifted civilization. (Applause.)

Who is William McKinley?

A citizen soldier of the Republic, a boy volunteer, knighted by his country's commission for daring deeds in the forefront of desperate battle.

His Alma Mater was the tented field, his diploma of valor bore the same signature as did the Emancipation Proclamation. (Applause.)

When Sheridan, summoned by the mighty roar of doubtful battle, rode madly down from Winchester and drew nigh to the shattered and retreating columns of his army, the first man he met, to know, was a young lieutenant engaged in the desperate work of rallying and reforming the Union lines, making ready for the coming of the master, whose presence and genius alone could wrest victory from defeat. That young lieutenant of the Shenandoah has been rallying and forming the Union lines from that day to this. (Applause.) He rallied and formed them for the protection of American labor; he rallied and formed them to maintain the credit of our country and the monetary standard of the civilized world. He rallied and formed them in the great struggle of humanity and sent the power of the Republic to the islands of the sea, that a suffering people might be lifted from the depths of tyranny and oppression. He rallied and formed them that our navies might astound the world and make our flag respected in all the earth. He rallied and formed them that law and order might prevail and life and liberty and property be secure where the banner of the Republic waves in sovereignty above our new possessions in the East. (Applause.)

His name is on every tongue, his love in every heart, his fame secure in all time to come and his re-election by the people, whose welfare and honor he has so jealously guarded and maintained, is as certain as the rising of the morning sun. (Applause.)

I cannot, dare not stand longer between this Convention and its will. You are the delegates of the people. You represent their wish as it is soon to be unanimously recorded. Of the outcome of the contest that is to follow, we have no lingering doubt, for we trust the intelligence of the

American people and we believe in the justice of Almighty God. (Applause.)

Other candidates of other parties will seek the public confidence and the popular vote. Hawks and buzzards sometimes soar aloft until they cheat the human vision to believe them eagles; but the eagle calmly circles high above them all, the one sole peerless monarch of the snow-capped peaks and the empyrean blue. (Applause.) So in the realm of statesmanship of the United States, William McKinley stands above all others, the worthy successor of Washington, Lincoln, Grant and Garfield—our President now—our President to be—William McKinley, of Ohio. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN W. YERKES, OF KENTUCKY.

Mr. JOHN W. YERKES, of Kentucky.—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: The supreme thought in my mind at this moment is what remains to be said that ought to be said; and as in time of danger one's thought naturally turns to his home, I recall that in the historic Philadelphia Republican Convention of 1856 liberty-loving men from my State sat as delegates. In contrast with this immense audience, this huge hall with its splendor of decoration and its superb equipment, that gathering would seem to be of small import. But in devotion to freedom, in intensity and force of utterance, in eternal results, that assemblage has no peer in the history of conventions. (Applause.)

Forty years after that body adjourned Kentucky for the first time gave her electoral vote to a Republican Presidential candidate, Major William McKinley. (Applause.) Recognized as a citidel of Democracy she had capitulated to the Republicans in the noted State campaign of 1895. She was Republican in 1896, Republican in 1899, is Republican to-day (applause), and as such she seconds this nomination.

It would be, gentlemen, but a fitting tribute to our President and to the industrial, commercial, diplomatic and martial victories of his administration if every State placed the stamp of its approval upon his course of conduct (applause); and if opportunity were given there would join in this majestic chorus of national endorsement voices coming across the waters from our new to our old shores; voices coming from our insular possessions to this venerable city where a nation was born consecrated to liberty, to freedom and to independence; and what more fitting place for this universal chorus to sound forth than in this old-time city? These voices that would come from abroad would ring out from every home over which for the first time the flag of freedom floats, and that by the orders of our President.

Furthermore, to-day they are linked to our progress and to our destiny, and therefore stable government, domestic tranquility and Christian civilization are assured to them, and just as Lincoln's name sounds to the emancipated slave and his children, so the name of President McKinley will be to these liberated millions of political serfs. (Applause.)

We believe that with the same leadership and the same policies which gave us victory in 1896, the same winning will be repeated in 1900. Then it was a campaign of instruction, of argument, of promise of better days, of trying to teach the people to trust and rely on our plans and purposes. Now it will be a campaign in which we will show what has been accomplished, prophecies fulfilled and pledges redeemed. It will be a presentation of actualities, of facts. You will have a rapid portraiture, you will have a shifting panoramic view of the present as compared with the past; and whether this comparison be made by the speaker on the hustings, in the public press, in the pamphlet, in the marvelous lines of the modern cartoonist, it will present an argument so forcible that the minds of the people can not escape it. If there be left among us plain, practical, common, everyday sense, then the columns that followed President McKinley's leadership four years ago will be doubled in enthusiasm and in numbers this year. (Applause.)

We support him for our faith in him; for our confidence in his character, in his capacity; for his splendid personality; for his broad Americanism, for what he is, for what he has done, and for what he stands pledged to do. In all these years of his office-holding as member of your National Legislature, as Governor, as President, his robes have always been and are to-day as spotless as the snows which crown our mountain peaks. (Applause.)

In Kentucky we know something of what it is to meet the conflicts and the antagonisms that are born and which reach maturity when vicious minorities under guise of law, attempt to destroy popular sovereignty, debauch the ballot box, trample under foot civil liberty and political freedom, and deny to the people the guaranteed right to select those who shall rule over them, and to be represented by officials of their free choice. (Applause.) While to us a strong foreign policy, the war and peace, both coming at humanity's call, the wise currency legislation, the proper protection of American industries, American labor, and all American products, appeal with force and directness, yet gentlemen, the right-minded men in Kentucky are Republicans because they are contending for a free ballot and a fair count. (Applause.) They are Republicans because this party by its traditions, by its history, by its platform declarations from the beginning is pledged to the maintenance and the protection of representative government and of an untrammelled suffrage. (Applause.)

In 1896 we gave you an old, representative slave-holding State. By so doing we removed one charge against our party, that it was sectional. The Ohio river was crossed; Republicanism marched southward, and this sectional line disappeared from the map. We will do it again. (Applause.) We will show the people of the North and the South and the East that Republicanism—to use the language of our distinguished chairman—means action, and is always moving forward. (Applause.) I am a Kentuckian, a lover of my native State, believing in the ultimate integrity and honesty

of her citizens. I have the fullest confidence in them. I believe they will make final response to right arguments, and that that response will be made at our polls next November, in electing electors to vote for President William McKinley for re-election. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF MR. GEORGE A. KNIGHT, OF CALIFORNIA.

Mr. GEORGE A. KNIGHT, of California.—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention, if my 'history serves me right, this is an anniversary day for California. I believe the reason why Philadelphia was chosen for holding this Republican Convention was in commemoration of the first Republican Convention, and its nominees. Amid these historic surroundings I feel quite at home. Forty-four years ago the Republican party met in National Convention in the City of Philadelphia and nominated a ticket asking the support of the loyal, liberty-loving citizens of the Union. I am not a resident of your State, neither am I familiar with the surroundings of your beautiful city. But it seems to me that this time and these few days I have been here have been an anniversary for the State of California. Forty-four years ago John C. Fremont, the weird pathfinder of the Pacific, was named by the Republican National Convention for President of the United States. He crossed the level plains, climbed the mountains of rock and viewed the promised land—California—God bless her; with a climate soft as a mother's smile; with a soil fruitful as God's love; an Eden in herself; broad enough for an empire—the Democrats did not want her as a part of this great National Union. (Applause.)

California came into the Union a free State, heralding the idea that no man under the shadow of our flag, no matter what his color might be, should be a slave. Believing in the inalienable rights of man and his just claim to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Firmly convinced of the wisdom of Washington's idea of protection, advocating Jefferson's imperialism, California's admission into the Union was significant and most important. Had she come into the Union a slave State, the reign of the dominant power for fifty-five years would have been continued and the destiny of this Republic would have been problematic.

California elected John C. Fremont one of her first United States Senators, and sent him back to Washington as a pledge of faith that California was true to the fundamental principles that to-day has made us the greatest nation on the face of the earth. Therefore, I rejoice with you to-day and the Republican party when you commemorate the nomination of the Californian who carried the banner of Republicanism in the early days of its sorest trial.

The Convention is impatient. You have had much work to do and I will not undertake to make a political speech. The time is not opportune for me to talk of the Republican party and its work, and I will not, at this time, undertake so great a task. It has written the history of this Government for every school child to read for the last thirty-five years. There is not a principle that has been advocated by the party since '61, that has not

been incorporated and crystalized into statutory or organic law. There is not a name that is associated with the advancement and the civilization of our people—be he high or low—that has not walked under the banner of Republicanism, and voted our National ticket. We are tired of history; we want to teach your children geography, and the text books of two years ago cannot guide the young mind of to-day on account of the advancement and work of the Republican party of this nation. We have changed the map and the flag floats now under skies that never knew it before.

In California we know what expansion means. In California we want this great and liberal nation to be equal to the occasion that offers itself to it. Happy circumstances shook the world's dice box of opportunity and we won in the throw. The prizes came not from the sky of blue but from the ocean, and Hawaii and the Philippine Archipelago, fresh from the soft creation of the wave, were added to our nation's domain. The King of Commerce has tapped us on the shoulder and said: "I am coming to the Fair Pacific to make her my sea-side home."

California welcomes commerce; she is glad that conquest prepared the way for her peaceful presence.

We know what anti-expansion is in California. Had the advocates of that doctrine had their way, my fair State would never have been admitted into the Union. Opposition most strong to the acquisition of California was made by Senator Corwin of Ohio in the United States Senate in 1847, and by all the gifts of oratory and the persuasion of speech, he sought to influence our Government in its war with Mexico, to withdraw from the contest and not claim my favored section as a necessary piece of territory for our nation. We had an advocate in the Senator from Michigan who told of the unknown country—California—and incidentally mentioned that he had been told that the San Francisco Bay was one of the finest in the world and that we ought to have it. He predicted that some day the United States would grow out to the Pacific and, as a matter of precaution, advised that California be retained as a part and parcel of our possessions to be used in the future. In a most emphatic, scholarly and well-prepared speech, Senator Corwin combatted the idea of ever purchasing California, and based his opposition upon the ground that it was too far off to be practical and it was unjust and indecent to take from a weaker nation. Speaking of San Francisco Bay he said: "The Senator from Michigan says it is the finest bay in the world and we ought to have it. Why, gentlemen, it is like a horse-thief saying that the reason he stole the horse was because it was the best one he could find." So, gentlemen of the Convention, you see that California has gone all through this fight on expansion, and had the anti-expansionists of that day had their way, one of the greatest States in this glorious Union would not have been a star in the field of blue on the National Flag.

We all know what the Democratic party is; we all know what the Democratic party was; we all know what the Democratic party will be until the crack of doom. (Applause and laughter). I believe it has often been said

that our forefathers builded better than they knew. I say, no; they knew better than they had an opportunity of building in their day and in their time. (Applause.) They had the history of the past; they had the memory of oppression and the tyranny that brought them to these shores. They knew the mistakes of the governments of the old world, and they tried, as best they knew, to avert and avoid them in the building of this new and great nation. One thing was stamped upon their hearts and their minds—freedom to all and equal rights before the law; and that has been one of the cardinal principles of the Republican party. (Applause.)

Let me tell you, fellow citizens and gentlemen of this Convention, we have made no mistakes in our political life. We have taken up the pen and written 'into the Constitution of the United States language so simple, so musical and so just in itself that you would have thought it was in the original draft, and was 'the output of the pen that penned the original Constitution itself. (Applause.)

One word with respect to Mr. Bryan. If in the House of Parliament the same speech and speeches, the same 'sentiments were expressed that William J. Bryan expresses under the shadow and protection of our flag, there is not a man, woman or child throughout this great domain who would not be willing to declare war at once. Put into the mouth of the representative of any foreign power the sayings of Bryan, let our army be attacked, let our institutions be made fun of, let our work be degraded in the eyes of the world by anybody but our people, and war would come. If it be true what Mr. Bryan says about our territory, if it be true what he says in criticism of our institutions, it ought to be right to have the whole civilized world accord with him.

The Democratic party has always put the arm of labor in a sling. (Laughter and applause.) The Democratic party has blackened the eye of commerce. (Laughter.) The Democratic party has crushed the foot of progress. It has put Uncle Sam to bed every time it has had anything to do with the Government. (Laughter and applause.) And besides that, it seeks alliances with the vicious and the outcasts of other lands who do not have an abiding place under the shadow of their own flag. (Applause.) That is the indictment against it.

Now, without going 'further into politics, let me say that the Democrats are going to have a convention on the Fourth of July in Kansas City. I wonder why the Fourth of July was chosen? The Fourth of July! Do you remember when—

Our bugles sang truce, for the night cloud had lowered
And the sentinel stars set their watch in the sky,
And thousands had sunk on the ground overpowered,
The weary to sleep and the wounded to die.

Among the soldiers who slept on tented fields was William McKinley, and under the stars of heaven he slept with his heart on the flag. I know of no Democrat who has such a record. From '61 to '65—they kept no

National Anniversaries. I am glad that my friend Roosevelt has said that the Spanish-American war was not a great war. I fully agree with him in a limited sense. All the smoke of the Spanish-American war was not incense to the god of battles when compared with the battles of Shiloh, Antietam, Gettysburg and the Wilderness, and the silent heroes of the past who fought those battles that the nation might live, are entitled at this hour and time to the praise and remembrance of this grateful Convention. Had it not been for Lincoln, we would have made no nomination for President of the United States to-day. Had it not been for Grant, we would have had no victorious armies. Farragut, lashed in the rigging of the old Hartford, his gray locks waving defiance to death and danger, made Dewey a possibility. And while we give all credit and all honor to those who so successfully conducted our war with foreign lands, we must not forget those who made that war's success a possibility. We will not take any honor from the brave men who brought us territory in the late war. No grander achievement has ever been chronicled in the history of our country than the acquisition of the islands in the Pacific. We need them commercially; we need them politically; we need them in every way that any nation may need territory. The dismemberment of China is sure to come. The feverish conditions of the Orient are apparent to everyone, and to-day were it not that we own the Philippines, we would have to send our soldiers thousands of miles across the water to protect the lives of the representatives of our flag. We need those islands as a great depot in the Pacific for the distribution of the output of our inventive genius and industrial hand. We are proud that California's boys were the first to carry our flag on to foreign shores, and we know the guarantee they feel in their hearts that the nation would approve of their acts, will not be a disappointment. Some of them are over there yet and will never come back. Near the restless sea, amid the spices and perfumes of the tropical land, Columbia, Fair Columbia, sighing for her dead, is guarding their hammocks that are swinging in peaceful and eternal content. I think we will keep the Philippines.

And now a word for California, the regnant queen. We have built the flagship upon which Dewey stood under the stars and stripes in Manila Bay; we have fashioned the Monterey and baptized her in the waters of San Francisco Bay and sent her sluggishly along to do the will of the commander of the fleet where she is assigned; we built the Oregon and sent her with the excursion of our Flag on the grandest and greatest trip that ever was known in naval achievement, that not only astonished ourselves but the civilized world stood aghast at the wonderful perfection of these water fighting machines. But we know what master laid their keel; what workman wrought their ribs of steel,—and we were not at all alarmed when they started out in defense of the national honor and defense of our convictions of right.

The time is short and I must close. The embodiment of all the principles of the Republican party I find in William McKinley, a statesman unexcelled,

a soldier of honorable renown, and a citizen whose hearthstone of home is an example to all.

William McKinley stands not only beloved at home, but before all the nations of this earth as one of the greatest and best rulers that ever graced the Presidential chair of the United States. (Applause.) November will soon be here. There will be no doubt as to the result. The ballots are now counted in the minds and hearts of the American people, and four years more of respect for law, respect for the flag and hope and faith in the perpetuity of American institutions and of honor to the name of William McKinley will follow this nomination. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. JAMES A. MOUNT, OF INDIANA.

Mr. JAMES A. MOUNT, of Indiana.—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention, the anxiety of the Convention to vote on the nomination of President McKinley only foretells the anxiety of the American people to express their desire for his election at the polls.

I esteem it a great honor to second the nomination of a man who has ably discharged every responsibility in peace and war; one who 'in the perilous crisis of the great civil conflict in this country,' though but a mere youth, displayed the loyalty of a patriot and the courage of a hero. (Applause.)

This man enlisted as a private soldier and fought in 'the front rank of battle until the Union was saved and honored peace secured. 'He is statesman as well as patriot, a creator of statutes as well as a defender of liberty. He became a leader in the Congress of the United States. He was Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and the distinguished author of the tariff law which bore his honored name. The anathemas of the Democratic party were showered upon that law, and from the same source came direful prophecies that calamity would follow its adoption. On 'the contrary, however, the wisdom of the measure was speedily proclaimed through flaming furnaces and forges which illuminated the night and by new industries and expanded markets. It made the closing year of General Harrison's illustrious administration the climax of national prosperity achieved up to that period.

The induction of the Democratic party into power in 1893 brought in its train ruined markets, declining values, diminishing exports, idle men and a general shrinkage of production. In lieu of the promised better times the results were loss of confidence, distress and disaster—a dismal heritage of Democratic incapacity. Idle mills, shops, foundries and factories condemned through the eloquence of their silence the 'party that had proved recreant to the trust reposed in it by a misguided majority. The alluring promises made to the farmers by Democratic orators were as deceptive as the mirage of the desert, which lures to destruction, or as the dead sea apple that turns to ashes on the lips. (Applause.) Instead of prosperity, in those four years there was a decrease of '23,000,000 head

of live stock, and a shrinkage of \$828,000,000 in the value of farm animals, together with a decline of \$720,000,000 in the value of farm crops.

The change from a debt-paying to a debt-making policy revealed the utter inability of Democracy to meet and master great economic and financial problems. Four years ago this country was filled with alarm, and forebodings of evil prevailed everywhere. The Democratic party offered as a panacea for depression and disaster one William Jennings Bryan and the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The Republican party, true to its tenets, was guided by the same lofty patriotism by which it was inspired when, in 1860, it chose as its leader that matchless genius, the immortal Lincoln, the brave and generous-hearted man who piloted the nation through the dark night of bitter strife into the sunlight of tranquility. So, also, in 1896, it chose as its standard-bearer that brave soldier, intrepid patriot and statesman, Major William McKinley.

In prophetic parlance he was designated as the "Advance Agent of Prosperity." He proclaimed the wisdom of opening the shops, mills and factories to labor instead of opening our mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. (Applause.) In full faith and confidence the people turned to him as the magnetic needle turns to the pole. He was triumphant, and with the beginning of his administration came the dawn of a brighter day. The sun of prosperity awoke the slumbering industries. The whirr of wheels, the hum of spindles, the clanging of hammers, the sound of reapers echoed the song of labor's rejoicing. The magic wand of prosperity touched farm and factory, and brought smiling plenty to the home of toilers throughout the length and breadth of the land. (Applause.) The finger of progress that had been turned backward on the dial of time by Democratic incompetency and misrule once more moved forward under the inspiring guidance of President McKinley. An annual increase of \$400,000,000 in our export trade, with the unprecedented two billion dollar mark in foreign commerce reached and passed, are economic truths—a part of history that commends with mightier force than the tongue of eloquence the splendid administration of this just and far-seeing statesman. (Applause.) Sound financial legislation has increased the volume and established the value of our currency.

Impelled by duty's call and the pleadings of the oppressed the United States engaged in war with the cruel and arrogant Kingdom of Spain. Grandly our patriotic President met the grave responsibilities of the war, and with firmness he withstood the clamor for precipitate haste that characterizes rash men who are disposed to rush unprepared and recklessly into conflict. With a conservatism born of greatness, with a quality of sagacity that commands respect, and with transcendent ability that challenges admiration he met the issues and carefully prepared for the clash of armor that could be no longer averted. In one hundred days he organized and equipped a volunteer army of 250,000 soldiers, and, with only a fraction of this army, he defeated the land forces of Spain and destroyed her fleets

without the loss to this nation of a war vessel, and with a loss of men so small, with results so important, that a parallel cannot be found in all the annals of warfare. (Applause.) The military and naval power of the United States was thus exalted before the nations of the earth, and the name of William McKinley became honored and extolled by the people of all lands. (Applause.) Like Abraham Lincoln, our President has been made the target of abuse by men who will yet, in the calmer moments of candor, extol his fairness, his efficiency, his fidelity and his greatness.

Sons of illustrious sires who wore the Blue and the Gray have unitedly carried "Old Glory" to victory. They have planted the ensign of liberty, the flag of our Union, in the Antilles and in the Orient, there to remain as a covenant promise of better government to the inhabitants.

Mighty problems unforested have arisen. They have been and are now being met in this period of transition, this history-making, geography-changing epoch of the world. We need a man, we must have a man, equal to the grave responsibilities that may arise. Platforms can not forecast policies for unforeseen emergencies.

"God give us men. A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty, and in private thinking."

This Convention has named such a man. (Applause.) I therefore take great pleasure in seconding the nomination of him who stands before the world clear-headed, clean-handed, strong-hearted—a patriot, a statesman and hero, a typical American, a Christian gentleman, William McKinley. (Applause.)

VOTE FOR CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—If there are no more names of candidates to be presented, the clerk will call the roll of States. Each State, Territory and District of Columbia, as it is called, will answer through its chairman, stating its vote for our nominee for President of the United States. The Chair begs the Convention and audience to preserve quiet while this most solemn act is performed. This is putting in nomination a candidate for President. The clerk will call the roll.

The READING CLERK called the roll, which resulted as follows:

	Whole Number of Delegates.	For William McKinley.		Whole Number of Delegates.	For William McKinley.
Alabama	22	22	New York	72	72
Arkansas	16	16	North Carolina	22	22
California	18	18	North Dakota	6	6
Colorado	8	8	Ohio	46	46
Connecticut	12	12	Oregon	8	8
Delaware	6	6	Pennsylvania	64	64
Florida	8	8	Rhode Island	8	8
Georgia	26	26	South Carolina	18	18
Idaho	6	6	South Dakota	8	8
Illinois	48	48	Tennessee	24	24
Indiana	30	30	Texas	30	30
Iowa	26	26	Utah	6	6
Kansas	20	20	Vermont	8	8
Kentucky	26	26	Virginia	24	24
Louisiana	16	16	Washington	8	8
Maine	12	12	West Virginia	12	12
Maryland	16	16	Wisconsin	24	24
Massachusetts	30	30	Wyoming	6	6
Michigan	28	28	District of Columbia	2	2
Minnesota	18	18	Alaska	4	4
Mississippi	18	18	Arizona	6	6
Missouri	34	34	Indian Territory	6	6
Montana	6	6	New Mexico	6	6
Nebraska	16	16	Oklahoma	6	6
Nevada	6	6	Hawaii	2	2
New Hampshire	8	8			
New Jersey	20	20	Total	926	926

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair will announce the result of the vote. Total number of votes cast, 926; William McKinley has received 926 votes. It is a unanimous vote, and the Chair declares that William McKinley is your nominee for the Presidency for the term beginning March 4, 1901.

[The announcement of the result was received with applause and cheering which lasted several minutes.]

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The next business in order is the nomination of a candidate for Vice President. The clerk will call the roll of States, etc., for the presentation of candidates.

The READING CLERK proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. P. D. BARKER, of Alabama (when Alabama was called).—Alabama yields to Iowa.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair recognizes Colonel Lafayette Young, of Iowa.

NOMINATING SPEECH OF MR. LAFAYETTE YOUNG, OF IOWA.

Mr. LAFAYETTE YOUNG, of Iowa.—Gentlemen of the Convention: I have listened with profound interest to the numerous indictments pronounced against the Democratic party, and as an impartial reader of history I am compelled to confess that the indictments are all only too true. If I am to judge, however, by the enthusiasm of this hour, the Republican relief committee sent out four years ago to carry supplies and succor to the prostrate industries of the Republic has returned to make formal report that the duty has been discharged. (Applause.) I can add nothing to this indictment except to say that that unfortunate party, through four years of legislative and administrative control, has made it, up to 1896, impossible for an honest man to get into debt or to get out of it.

But, my fellow citizens, you know my purpose; you know the heart of this Convention. The country never called for patriotic sons from any given family but that more was offered than there was room for on the enlistment roll. (Applause.) When this Convention and this great party called for a candidate for Vice President two voices responded—one from the Mississippi Valley by birth; another by loving affection and adoption.

It is my mission, representing that part of the great Louisiana Purchase, to withdraw one of these sons and to suggest that the duty be placed upon the other. I therefore withdraw the name of Jonathan P. Dolliver, of Iowa (applause), a man born with the thrill of the Lincoln and Fremont campaigns in his heart, and with the power to stir the hearts and consciences of men as part of his birthright.

We turn to this other adopted son of the great Middle West; and at this moment I recall that this is an anniversary with our candidate. Two years ago to-day as many men as there are men and women in this great hall were on board sixty transports lying off Santiago harbor, in full view of the bay, with Moro Castle looming up on the right, and another prominence upon the left, with the opening of the channel between. On board those transports were 20,000 soldiers who had gone away from our shores to liberate another race, to fulfill no obligation but that of humanity. (Applause.)

As camp followers there were those who witnessed this great spectacle

of the fleet, and on the ship *Yucatan* was that famous regiment, the Rough Riders of the West and the Mississippi Valley. (Applause.) In command of that regiment was that fearless young American student, scholar, plainsman, reviewer, historian, statesman, soldier of the Middle West by adoption, of New York by birth. That fleet, sailing around the point, coming to the place of landing, stood off the harbor two years ago to-morrow, and the navy bombarded the shore to make a place for landing. No living man who was in that campaign, as an observer, as a camp follower, as a soldier, can fail to recall, especially if he closes his eyes, the awful scenes in that campaign in June and July, 1898.

The landing being completed, there were those who stood upon the shore and saw those indomitable men land, landing in small boats through waves that dashed against the shore, landing without harbor, but land they did, with the accoutrements and their weapons by their sides. And those who stood upon that shore and saw those men come on, thought they could read in their faces, "Stranger, can you tell me the nearest road to Santiago?" That is the place they were looking for. The name of the leader of that campaign, of one of those regiments, is the one I shall bring before this Convention for the office of Vice President of the United States. (Applause.)

Gentlemen of the Convention, I know you have been here a long time, and that you have had politics in abundance; I know the anxiety to complete the work of this Convention, but I cannot forbear to say that this occasion has a higher significance than one of politics. The campaign of this year is higher than politics. In fact, if patriotism could have its way there would be but one political party and but one electoral ticket in any State of the Union, because patriotic duty would enforce it.

In many respects the years 1898 and 1899 have been the great years of the Republic. There is not under any sun or in any clime any man or government that dares to insult the flag of the United States—not one. We are a greater and a broader people on account of these achievements. (Applause.) They have made Uncle Sam a cosmopolitan citizen. No one questions his prowess or his bravery. As the result of those campaigns and as a result of the American spirit, my fellow citizens, the American soldier, ten thousand miles away from home, with a musket in his hands, says to the aggressor, to those who are in favor of tyranny: "Halt! Who goes there?" And the same spirit says to the beleaguered hosts of liberty: "Hold the fort; I am coming." Thus says the spirit of Americanism. (Applause.)

Gentlemen of the Convention, I place before you this distinguished leader of Republicanism in the United States, this leader of the aspirations of the people whose hearts are right, this leader of the aspirations of the young men of this country. Their hearts and consciences are with this young leader whom I name for the Vice Presidency of the United States—Theodore Roosevelt, of New York. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF MR. M. J. MURRAY, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. M. J. MURRAY, of Massachusetts.—Gentlemen of the Convention: Massachusetts commissions me, through her delegation, to speak to you to-day, and she accompanied that request with the injunction that I should be exceedingly brief in what I have to say. We who come from the Old Bay State know and love and appreciate the Governor of New York. (Applause.) He has many times been welcomed within our borders, and we have for him that high appreciation which Massachusetts manhood always has for a thoroughgoing, fighting Republican. We yield to him a full measure of devotion unsurpassed by that of any other delegation upon the floor of the Convention. His life to us is an embodiment of those qualities which appeal everywhere to American manhood, and which are a sufficient guarantee of the kind of public service he will render in this new and high position of responsibility to the American people. (Applause.)

Gentlemen of the Convention, on behalf of the State of Massachusetts, which has furnished to the President of the United States one of the best assistants he has enjoyed in his Cabinet, in the government of the nation's affairs, mindful of the duty which he expects us to perform in this Convention, with the heartiest kind of sympathy and regard for the voice of this great gathering, on behalf of the delegation which has complimented me with the privilege I am now to exercise—aye, on behalf of all New England, whose towns and cities have been responsible for some of the character that has entered into the Nation's life—with all the earnestness at my command, I second the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, of New York. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF MR. J. M. ASHTON, OF WASHINGTON.

Mr. JAMES M. ASHTON, of Washington.—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: We come here from the great, the growing and the mighty Northwest. We come to greet my worthy predecessor, the great States of New England, in the mighty Northeast. We come from the gateway of the treasure land of Alaska, the land which will make the free coinage of silver sink into insignificance. (Applause.)

The name of Theodore Roosevelt is known at every fireside throughout the great and magnificent mountains and across the broad plains of the great West. Everywhere that name is the symbol of American heroism and American manhood. (Applause.) When we came here we had in our minds for this exalted position an eminent international jurist, an eminent diplomat, the Hon. Bartlett Tripp, of the great Northwest. (Applause.) But he has said from the commencement, if it is possible to secure the nomination of Governor Roosevelt and his acceptance, together with that grand character in American history, the eminent, the illustrious, the patriotic statesman and soldier, William McKinley, it would be the greatest ticket, the grandest ticket, and the strongest ticket which can be placed before the American people.

Now, gentlemen of the Convention, beneath the banner of McKinley and Roosevelt the West will unite with the mighty East and go before the shrine of the people. We have no fears. You will find when the ballots are cast next November that the West has with the entire country woven about the waist of Columbia the girdle of political power and political freedom; you will find when you count the ballots from the States of the setting sun that they will read "for McKinley and Roosevelt," and we will clasp that girdle in Republican victory. (Applause.) I thank you.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, OF NEW YORK.

(There were cries of "Depew!" "Depew!")

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair calls upon Senator Depew.

Mr. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, of New York.—Gentlemen of the Convention: Permit me to state to you at the outset that I am not upon the programme, but I will gladly perform the pleasant duty of announcing that New York came here, as did every other delegation, for Colonel Roosevelt for Vice President of the United States. (Applause.) When Colonel Roosevelt expressed to us his wish not to be considered, we respected it and we proposed to place in nomination by our unanimous vote our Lieutenant Governor, Timothy L. Woodruff. (Applause.) Now that the Colonel has responded to the call of the Convention and the demand of the people, New York and Woodruff withdraw Mr. Woodruff and put Roosevelt in nomination. I had the pleasure of nominating him two years ago for Governor when all the signs pointed to the loss of New York in the election, but he charged up and down the old State from Montauk Point to Niagara Falls, as he went up San Juan Hill against the Spaniards (applause), and the Democrats fled before him as the Spaniards did in Cuba. (Applause.)

It is a peculiarity of American life that our men are not born to anything, but that they get there afterward. (Applause.) McKinley, a young soldier, and coming out a major; McKinley, a Congressman, and making a tariff; McKinley, a President, elected because he represented the protection of American industries, and McKinley, after four years' development, in peace, in war, in prosperity and in adversity, the greatest President save one or two that this country ever had, and the greatest ruler in Christendom to-day. (Applause.)

So with Colonel Roosevelt—we call him "Teddy." (Applause.) He was the child of New York, of New York city, the place that you gentlemen from the West think breeds coupons, clubs and eternal damnation for every one. (Laughter.) "Teddy" was the child of Fifth avenue. He was the child of the clubs. He was the child of the exclusiveness of Harvard College. He went West and became a cowboy (applause and laughter), and then he went into the Navy Department and became an Assistant Secretary. He gave an order, and the old chiefs of bureau came to him and said: "Why, Colonel, there is no authority and no requisition to burn this powder." "Well," said the Colonel, "we have to get ready when war comes,

and powder was manufactured to be burned." (Applause.) The burning of that powder sunk Cervera's fleet outside of Santiago's harbor and the fleet in Manila Bay. (Applause.)

At Santiago a modest voice was heard, exceedingly polite, addressing a militia regiment lying upon the ground, while the Spanish bullets were flying over them. This voice said: "Get to one side, gentlemen, please; one side, gentlemen, please, that my men can get out." And when this polite man got his men out in the open, where they could face the bayonet and face the bullet, there was a transformation, and the transformation was that the dude had become a cowboy, the cowboy had become a soldier, the soldier had become a hero, and, rushing up the hill, pistol in hand (applause), the polite man shouted to the militiamen lying down: "Give them hell, boys! Give them hell!" (Applause.)

Allusion has been made by one of the speakers to the fact that the Democratic Convention is to meet two weeks from yesterday, on the Fourth of July. Great Scott! The Fourth of July! (Laughter.) On the Fourth of July all the great heroes of the Revolution, all the great heroes of the war of 1812, all the great heroes of the war with Mexico, and the heroes of the war with Spain who are not dead will be in processions all over the country—those mighty spirits; but they will not be at the Democratic Convention at Kansas City. (Applause.)

Mr. H. H. BINGHAM, of Pennsylvania.—And the heroes of the War of the Rebellion.

Mr. DEPEW, of New York.—And the heroes of the War of the Rebellion. There is one gentleman who is detained from there and from the welcome which they would delight to give him, but he is at present engaged in running a footrace, under the blazing sun, from the soldiers of the United States. (Laughter and applause.) George Washington's spirit will not be there, but George Washington Aguinaldo, if he could, would be there as a welcome delegate. (Laughter and applause.)

I should like to sit in the gallery and hear the platform read; anti-expansion, with Jefferson coming out of the clouds and saying, "Who are you? Didn't my expansion become fifteen States as glorious and as great as any represented in your Convention? And what are you condemning me for?" Anti-imperialism! Because we are putting down an insurrection in the Philippines! And from the grave at the Hermitage comes the spirit of old Andrew Jackson, saying: "Get out of here, or by the Eternal I will let you know who I am!" (Laughter and applause.) Anti-acquisition of territory? And then comes a procession of Democrats of the old Democratic party—Jefferson, Monroe, Polk, Pierce, pointing to Louisiana, pointing to New Mexico, pointing to California, pointing to Oregon, pointing to what has made our country first and foremost among the countries of the world. (Applause.)

But then will come the great card of the Convention, headed by the great Bryan himself, "Down with the Trusts!" "Down with the Trusts!" and

when the applause is over it will be found that the pitchers on the table have been broken by the clashing of the ice within (laughter), for that ice will be making merry at five cents a chunk. (Laughter.)

I heard a story. (Laughter.) This is a brand new story. (Laughter.) It is of the vintage of June, 1900. Most of my stories are more venerable. (Laughter.) There was a lady with her husband in Florida last winter—he a consumptive and she a strenuous and tumultuous woman. (Laughter.) Her one remark as they sat on the piazza was: "Stop coughing, John." John had a hemorrhage. The doctor said he must stay in bed six weeks. His tumultuous wife said: "Doctor, it is impossible. We are travelling on a time limited ticket, and we have several more places to go." (Laughter and applause.) So she carried him off. On arriving at the next station the poor man died, and the sympathetic hotel proprietor said: "Madam, what shall we do?" She said: "Box him up. I have a time limited ticket, and several more places to go." (Laughter and applause.)

Now, we buried 16 to 1 in 1896. We put a monument over it, weighing as many tons as the Sierra Nevada, when "gold" was put into the statute by a Republican Congress and the signature of William McKinley. Colonel Bryan has been a body-snatcher. (Laughter.) He has got the corpse out from under the monument, but it is dead. He has got it in its coffin, carrying it along, as did the bereaved widow, because, he says: "I must, I must; I am wedded to this body of sin and death. (Laughter.) I must, I must, because I have a time ticket which expires in November." (Laughter and applause.)

I remember that when I first used to go abroad—it is a good thing for a Yankee to go abroad—I was ashamed because everywhere they would say: "What is the matter with the Declaration of Independence when you have slavery in your land?" Well, we took slavery out, and now no American is ashamed to go abroad. When I went abroad later the ship was full of merchants going across to buy iron and steel and wool and cotton and all kinds of goods. Now when an American goes around the world, what happens to him? When he reaches the capital of Japan he rides on an electric railway made by American mechanics. When he reaches the cities of China he rides under electric lights invented by Mr. Edison and put up by American artisans. When he goes over the great railway across Siberia from China to St. Petersburg, he rides on American rails in cars drawn by American locomotives. When he gets to Germany he finds our iron and steel climbing over a two dollar and fifty cent tariff, and thereby scaring the Kaiser out of his wits. (Laughter.) When he reaches the great Exposition at Paris he finds the French winemaker saying that American wine cannot be admitted there for the purpose of judgment. When he gets to old London he gets for breakfast California fruit, he gets for luncheon biscuit and bread made of Western wheat, and he gets for dinner "roast beef of old England" from the plains of Montana (laughter); and his feet rest

on a carpet marked "Axminster," but made at Yonkers, New York. (Laughter.)

Now, my friends, the canvass upon which we are entering is a canvass of the future. The past is only for record and for reference, and, thank God, we have a reference and a record. It is the canvass of the future. Why this war in South Africa? Why these hammerings at the gates of Pekin? Why these marching of troops over Asia and Africa? Why this parading of the people and of the empire of other lands? It is because the surplus products of civilized countries in modern times are greater than civilization can consume. It is because this overproduction rolls back to stagnation and poverty.

The American people now produce \$2,000,000,000 worth more than we can consume, and we have met the emergency, by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates. (Applause.) We have our market in Cuba, we have our market in Porto Rico, we have our market in Hawaii, we have our market in the Philippines, and we stand in the presence of eight hundred million people, with the Pacific as an American lake and the American artisan producing better and cheaper goods than those of any other country in the world.

My friends, we go to American labor and to the American farm, and say that with McKinley for another four years there will be no congestion in America. Let invention proceed, let production go on, let the factories do their best, let labor be employed at the highest wages, because the world is ours, and we have conquered it by Republican principles and by Republican persistency in the enforcement of the principles of American industry and of America for Americans. (Applause.)

Many of you I met in convention four years ago—you from New England with all its culture and its coldness (laughter), and you from the Middle West, who, starting from Ohio and radiating in every direction, think you are all there is of it (laughter); you from the West who produced on this platform a product of New England transplanted to the West through New York, who delivered the best presiding officer's speech in oratory and all that makes up a great speech that has been heard in many a day in any convention in this country. (Applause.) It was a glorious thing to see the fervor of the West and the culture and polish of New England giving us an ammunition wagon from which the spellbinder everywhere can draw the powder to shoot down opposition East and West and North and South. (Applause and laughter.)

Many of you, as I say, I met in convention four years ago. We all feel what little men we were then compared with what we are to-day. There is not a man here who does not feel four hundred per cent. bigger in 1900 than he did in 1896; bigger intellectually, bigger hopefully, bigger patriotically, bigger in the grasp of the fact that he is a citizen of a country which

has become a world power for peace, for civilization, and for the expansion of its industries and the products of its labor. (Applause.)

We have the best ticket ever presented. (Applause.) We have at the head of it a Western man with Eastern notions, and we have at the other end an Eastern man with Western characteristics (applause); the statesman and the cowboy (laughter); the accomplished man of affairs and the heroic fighter; the man who has proved great as President, and the fighter who has proved great as Governor. (Applause.) We leave this old town simply to keep on shouting and working to make it unanimous for McKinley and Roosevelt. (Applause.)

VOTE FOR CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—If there are no other nominations to be made for candidate for Vice President, the Clerk will call the roll of States, etc., and the chairman of each delegation, as the State or Territory is called, will announce the vote of the State or Territory for candidate for Vice President. The Clerk will call the roll.

The READING CLERK proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BENJAMIN B. ODELL, of New York (when New York was called).—New York casts 71 votes for Theodore Roosevelt, one not voting.

The roll call was concluded, resulting as follows:

	Whole Number of Delegates.	For Theodore Roosevelt.		Whole Number of Delegates.	For Theodore Roosevelt.
Alabama	22	22	New York	72	71
Arkansas	16	16	North Carolina	22	22
California	18	18	North Dakota	6	6
Colorado	8	8	Ohio	46	46
Connecticut	12	12	Oregon	8	8
Delaware	6	6	Pennsylvania	64	64
Florida	8	8	Rhode Island	8	8
Georgia	26	26	South Carolina	18	18
Idaho	6	6	South Dakota	8	8
Illinois	48	48	Tennessee	24	24
Indiana	30	30	Texas	30	30
Iowa	26	26	Utah	6	6
Kansas	20	20	Vermont	8	8
Kentucky	26	26	Virginia	24	24
Louisiana	16	16	Washington	8	8
Maine	12	12	West Virginia	12	12
Maryland	16	16	Wisconsin	24	24
Massachusetts	30	30	Wyoming	6	6
Michigan	28	28	District of Columbia	2	2
Minnesota	18	18	Alaska	4	4
Mississippi	18	18	Arizona	6	6
Missouri	34	34	Indian Territory	6	6
Montana	6	6	New Mexico	6	6
Nebraska	16	16	Oklahoma	6	6
Nevada	6	6	Hawaii	2	2
New Hampshire	8	8			
New Jersey	20	20	Total	926	925

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The total vote of the Convention is 926. Nine hundred and twenty-five votes have been cast (one delegate not voting) for Theodore Roosevelt, of New York. (Applause.) I hereby declare him your nominee for the Vice-Presidency for the term beginning March 4, 1901. (Applause.)

[The announcement of the result was received with applause and cheering which lasted several minutes.]

PUBLICATION OF PROCEEDINGS.

Mr. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR, of Ohio.—I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Ohio offers resolutions which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention is hereby directed to prepare and publish a full and complete report of the official proceedings of this Convention, under the direction of the National Committee, co-operating with the local committee.

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention be requested to republish the official proceedings of preceding Republican National Conventions now out of print, under the direction of the National Committee.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The question is on agreeing to the resolutions submitted by the gentleman from Ohio.

The resolutions were agreed to.

VACANCIES ON NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE.

Mr. THOMAS H. CARTER, of Montana.—Mr. Chairman, I submit the resolution which I send to the desk.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Montana offers a resolution which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That the National Republican Committee be, and it is hereby empowered to fill all vacancies in its membership.

The resolution was agreed to.

COMMITTEES TO NOTIFY THE NOMINEES.

Mr. CHARLES DICK, of Ohio.—Mr. Chairman, I offer a resolution.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Ohio offers a resolution which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That the Permanent Chairman of this Convention, Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, be appointed chairman of the committee to notify Hon. William McKinley of his nomination for President, and that the Temporary Chairman, Hon. E. O. Wolcott, of Colorado, be appointed chairman of the committee to notify the nominee for Vice-President of his nomination; and that the committee notify the candidate for President on July 12.

The resolution was agreed to.

THANKS TO CONVENTION OFFICERS.

Mr. SIDNEY M. BIRD, of Maine.—I offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. J. B. Foraker, of Ohio, in the chair).—The gentleman from Maine offers a resolution which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are tendered to the Temporary Chairman, the Permanent Chairman, the Secretary and his Assistants, the Sergeant-at-Arms and his Deputies, the Clerk at the Chairman's Desk, the Reading and Tally Clerks, the Official Reporter and the Messengers.

The PRESIDING OFFICER.—The question is on agreeing to the resolution submitted by the gentleman from Maine.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

THANKS TO THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Mr. JOSEPH H. MANLEY, of Maine.—Mr. Chairman, I offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Mr. Lodge).—The gentleman from Maine offers a resolution which will be read.

The READING CLERK read as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are hereby tendered to his Honor, Samuel H. Ashbridge, Mayor of Philadelphia, the members of the Citizens' Committee and the citizens for the hospitable and perfect provisions made for the session of the convention and the entertainment of the delegates, alternates and visitors.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Convention has heard the resolution, and the Chair is sure it will join him in extending much more than formal thanks to Mayor Ashbridge, to the city of Philadelphia, and to the committees which have been so attentive to our comfort, and so hospitable to us. The question is on agreeing to the resolution offered by the gentleman from Maine.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY HON. WILLIAM McKINLEY.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair requests the Chairman of each delegation to submit in writing the name of its member of the committee to notify Hon. William McKinley of his nomination.

The committee as finally made up is as follows:

Chairman, HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts.

	ADDRESS.	STATE.
P. D. BARKER	Mobile	Alabama.
CHARLES M. GREENE	Harrison	Arkansas.
WILLIAM M. GARLAND	Los Angeles	California.
DAVID H. MOFFAT	Denver	Colorado.
LINUS B. PLIMPTON	Hartford	Connecticut.
J. FRANK ALEE	Dover	Delaware.
JOSEPH E. LEE	Jacksonville	Florida.
W. A. PLEDGER	Athens	Georgia.
W. B. HEYBURN	Wallace	Idaho.
FRANK O. LOWDEN	Chicago	Illinois.
JOHN D. WIDAMAN	Warsaw	Indiana.
C. E. ALLBROOK	Eldora	Iowa.
E. T. FRANKS	Owensboro	Kentucky.
JULIUS GODCHAUX	New Orleans	Louisiana.
WAINWRIGHT CUSHING	Foxcroft	Maine.
WILLIAM F. AIREY	Baltimore	Maryland.
FRANKLIN E. HUNTRESS	Somerville	Massachusetts.
FRANK J. HECKER	Detroit	Michigan.
RAY W. JONES	Frazee	Minnesota.
SAM P. HURST	Clarksdale	Mississippi.
JOHN B. OWEN	St. Louis	Missouri.
DAVID E. FOLSOM	White Sulphur Springs	Montana.
O. A. ABBOTT	Grand Island	Nebraska.
ROBERT L. FULTON	Reno	Nevada.
FRED A. PALMER	Manchester	New Hampshire.
LESLIE D. WARD	Newark	New Jersey.
FRANK S. WITHERBEE	Port Henry	New York.
W. A. LEMLEY	Winston	North Carolina.
FRED LEUTZ	Hebron	North Dakota.
JOS. G. BUTLER, Jr.	Youngstown	Ohio.
HENRY E. ANKENNY	Sterling	Oregon.
JOSEPH C. FLETCHER	Bristol	Rhode Island.
E. H. DEAS	Darlington	South Carolina.
C. B. COLLINS	Groton	South Dakota.
GEO. N. TILLMAN	Nashville	Tennessee.
J. G. LOWDON	Abilene	Texas.
THOMAS KEARNS	Park City	Utah.
WM. N. PLATT	Shoreham	Vermont.
J. HAMPTON HOGE	Roanoke	Virginia.
LEVI ANKENY	Walla Walla	Washington.
W. W. MONROE	Parkersburg	West Virginia.
WALTER ALEXANDER	Wausau	Wisconsin.
CLARANCE D. CLARKE	Evanston	Wyoming.
W. D. GRANT	Wrangel	Alaska.
JOHN W. DORRINGTON	Yuma	Arizona.
W. CALVIN CHASE	Washington	District of Columbia.
MIGUEL A. OTERO	Santa Fe	New Mexico.
W. J. FRENCH	Alva	Oklahoma.
S. PARKER	Honolulu	Hawaii.
P. L. SOPER	Vinita Cherokee Nation	Indian Territory.

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Chair requests the chairman of each delegation to submit in writing the name of its member of the committee to notify the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt of his nomination.

The committee as finally made up is as follows.

Chairman, HON. EDWARD O. WOLCOTT, of Colorado.

	ADDRESS.	STATE.
N. H. ALEXANDER	Montgomery	Alabama.
S. A. DUKE	Baxter	Arkansas.
GEORGE C. PARDEE	Oakland	California.
JOHN B. THOMPSON	Longmont	Colorado.
ANDREW J. SLOPER	New Britain	Connecticut.
ALVIN D. CONNOR	Dover	Delaware.
JOHN F. HERR	Jacksonville	Florida.
E. N. CLEMENCE	Columbus	Georgia.
GEORGE L. SHOUP	Boise City	Idaho.
J. H. ROWELL	Bloomington	Illinois.
CHARLES S. HERNLEY	Indianapolis	Indiana.
J. J. MARSH	Decorah	Iowa.
J. T. BRADLEY	Sedan	Kansas.
W. J. DEBOE	Marion	Kentucky.
JOHN W. COOKE	Lake Providence	Louisiana.
ALBERT PIERCE	Frankfort	Maine.
J. T. BRADFORD	Baltimore	Maryland.
GEORGE N. SWALLOW	Boston	Massachusetts.
WILLIAM E. PARNALL	Calumet	Michigan.
J. J. ECKLUND	Duluth	Minnesota.
W. E. MASK	Winona	Mississippi.
WALTER S. DICKEY	Kansas City	Missouri.
DAVID E. FOLSOM	White Sulphur Springs	Montana.
ALEX LAVERTY	Ashland	Nebraska.
PATRICK L. FLANIGAN	Reno	Nevada.
ALBERT WALLACE	Rochester	New Hampshire.
WM. BARBOUR	Paterson	New Jersey.
FRANCIS V. GREENE	New York City	New York.
THOMAS S. ROLLINS	Marshall	North Carolina.
H. C. PLUMLEY	Fargo	North Dakota.
GEO. C. RAWLINS	Springfield	Ohio.
THOMAS McEWAN	Sumpter	Oregon.
JOHN H. MURDOCK	Washington	Pennsylvania.
LUCIUS B. DARLING	Pawtucket	Rhode Island.
J. F. ENSOR	Columbia	South Carolina.
EMIL BRAUCH	Hurley	South Dakota.
F. S. ELGIN	Selmer	Tennessee.
CHARLES M. FERGUSON	San Antonio	Texas.
C. E. LOOSE	Provo	Utah.
E. M. BARTLETT	Brighton	Vermont.
C. G. SMITHERS	Cape Charles	Virginia.
LEVI ANKENY	Walla Walla	Washington.
JOHN D. RIGG	Terra Alta	West Virginia.
JAMES REYNOLDS	Lake Geneva	Wisconsin.
GEORGE C. GOBEL	Rock Springs	Wyoming.
W. D. GRANT	Wrangel	Alaska.
CHARLES H. DRAKE	Tucson	Arizona.
JOHN E. JONES	Washington	District of Columbia.
SECUNDINO ROMERO	Las Vegas	New Mexico.
J. G. PRINGEY	Harvey	Oklahoma.
A. N. KEPOIKAI	Honolulu	Hawaii.
W. L. McWILLIAMS	Miami Quapaw Agency	Indian Territory.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. SERENO E. PAYNE, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, I move that the Convention do now adjourn sine die.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 12 minutes P. M.) the Chair declared the Convention adjourned without day.

Official Notification of the Candidates

NOTIFICATION OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY

At his home in Canton, Ohio, on the twelfth of July, 1900, President McKinley was officially notified that he had been a second time selected by the Republican National Convention as Presidential nominee. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts was spokesman for the notification committee, and President McKinley replied at length. The speeches were considered to a certain extent as the basis upon which the campaign is to be fought this year.

Chairman Lodge and the members of the notification committee, together with Chairman Hanna and members of the National Committee, arrived on a special train from Cleveland at 11 o'clock.

There were also on board the train the Tippecanoe Club of Canton, about 50 members of President McKinley's old regiment, a number of distinguished guests invited by Senator Hanna, and a band.

The Citizens' Committee met the party at the station and escorted them to the President's home. Flags fluttered from every window along the line of march. Grouped about the lawn at the house were the visiting organizations.

A large space in the front yard was roped off and filled with chairs for the notification party and distinguished guests. Tables were also provided for the press.

Five minutes after 11 o'clock the booming of guns announced the arrival of the Notification Committee at the station. The committee was received at the McKinley home with cheers.

Senator Lodge, followed by Senator Hanna, was in the lead of the notification party. Both entered the house and had a few minutes' chat with President McKinley. When they appeared a cheer went up from the crowd.

Among those occupying seats on the porch were Senator Hanna, Postmaster-General Smith, Cornelius N. Bliss, Henry C. Payne, Judge Day, R. C. Kerens, Representative Taylor. With Mrs. McKinley were Mrs. Barber, Mrs. Mary Saxton, Mrs. Day and Mrs. Charles G. Dawes.

SENATOR LODGE'S SPEECH.

Senator Lodge immediately mounted a small standing block and delivered his speech. He said:

Mr. President: This committee, representing every State in the Union and the organized Territories of the United States, was duly appointed to announce to you, formally, your nomination by the Republican National Convention, which met in Philadelphia on June 19 last, as the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States for the term beginning March 4, 1901.

To be selected by the Republican party as their candidate for this great office is always one of the highest honors which can be given to any man. This nomination, however, comes to you, sir, under circumstances which give it a higher significance, and make it an even deeper expression of honor and trust than usual. You were nominated unanimously at Philadelphia. You received the unforced vote of every delegate from every State and every Territory. The harmony of sentiment which appears on the face of the record was but the reflection of a deeper harmony which existed in the hearts and minds of the delegates. Without factions, without dissent, with profound satisfaction and eager enthusiasm, you were nominated for the Presidency by the united voice of the representatives of our great party, in which there is neither sign of division nor shadow of turning.

THE RECORD REVIEWED.

Such unanimity, always remarkable, is here the more impressive because it accompanies a second nomination to the great office which you have held for four years. It is not the facile triumph of hope over experience, but the sober approval of conduct and character tested in many trials and tried by heavy and extraordinary responsibilities. With the exception of the period in which Washington organized the nation and built the state, and of those other awful years when Lincoln led his people through the agony of civil war and saved from destruction the work of Washington, there has never been a Presidential term in our history so crowded with great events, so filled with new and momentous questions, as that which is now drawing to its end.

True to the declarations which were made at St. Louis in 1896, you, sir, united with the Republicans in Congress in the revision of the tariff and the re-establishment of the protective policy. You maintained our credit and upheld the gold standard, leading the party by your advice to the passage of the great measure which is to-day the bulwark of both. You led again in the policy which has made Hawaii a possession of the United States. On all these questions you fulfilled the hopes and justified the confidence of the people who four years ago put trusts in our promises. But in all these questions you had as guides not only your own principles, the well-considered results of years of training and reflection, but also the plain declarations of the National Convention which nominated you in 1896.

Far different was it when the Cuban question, which we had also promised to settle, brought, first war, and then peace, with Spain. Congress declared war, but you, as commander-in-chief, had to carry it on. You did so, and history records unbroken victory from the first shot of the Nashville to the day when the protocol was signed. The peace you had to make alone. Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines—you had to assume alone the responsibility of taking them all from Spain. Alone and weighted with the terrible responsibility of the unchecked war powers of the Constitution, you were obliged to govern these islands and to repress rebellion and disorder in the Philippines.

No party creed defined the course you were to follow. Courage, foresight, comprehension of American interests, both now and in the uncharted future, faith in the American people and in their fitness for great tasks, were then your only guides and counsellors. Thus you framed and put in operation this great new policy which has made us at once masters of the Antilles and a great Eastern power, holding firmly our possessions on both sides of the Pacific.

The new and strange ever excite fear, and the courage and prescience which accept them always arouse criticism and attack. Yet a great departure and a new policy were never more quickly justified than those undertaken by you. On the possession of the Philippines rests the admirable diplomacy which warned all nations that American trade was not to be shut out from China. It is to Manila that we owe the ability to send troops and ships in this time of stress to the defence of our ministers, our missionaries, our consuls and our merchants in China, instead of being compelled to leave our citizens to the casual protection of other powers, as would have been unavoidable had we flung the Philippines away and withdrawn from the Orient.

Rest assured, sir, that the vigorous measures which you have thus been enabled to take, and that all further measures in the same direction which you may take, for the protection of American lives and property, will receive the hearty support of the people of the United States, who are now, as always, determined that the American citizen shall be protected at any cost in all his rights, everywhere, and at all times.

It is to Manila again, to our fleet in the bay and our army on the land, that we shall owe the power, when these scenes of blood in China are closed, to exact reparation, to enforce stern justice, and to insist, in the final settlement, upon an open door to all that vast market for our fast growing commerce.

THE POLICY STATED.

Events, moving with terrible rapidity, have been swift witnesses to the wisdom of our action in the East. The Philadelphia Convention has adopted your policy, both in the Antilles and the Philippines, and has made it their own and that of the Republican party.

Your election, sir, next November, assures to us the continuance of that policy abroad and in our new possessions. To entrust these difficult and vital questions to other hands, at once incompetent and hostile, would be a disaster to us and a still more unrelieved disaster to our posterity. Your election means not only protection to our industries, but the maintenance of a sound currency and of the gold standard, the very corner-stones of our economic and financial welfare. Should these be shaken, as they would be by the success of our opponents, the whole fabric of our business confidence and prosperity would fall into ruin. Your defeat would be the signal for the advance of free trade, for the anarchy of a debased and unstable currency, for business panic, depression and hard times, and for the wreck of our foreign policy.

Your election and the triumph of the Republican party—which we believe to be as sure as the coming of the day—will make certain the steady protection of our industries, sound money and a vigorous and intelligent foreign policy. They will continue those conditions of good government and wise legislation, so essential to the prosperity and well being which have blessed our country in such abundance during the past four years.

Thus announcing to you, sir, your nomination as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, we have the honor also to submit to you the declaration of principles made by the National Convention, which, we trust, will receive your approval. We can assure you of the faithful and earnest support of the Republican party in every State, and we beg you to believe that we discharge, here to-day, with feelings of the deepest personal gratification, this honorable duty imposed upon us by the convention.

Senator Lodge's remarks were frequently interrupted with applause.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S RESPONSE.

When Senator Lodge had concluded, the President stepped forward, the audience cheered him heartily, and it was some moments before he could continue. He spoke as follows:

Senator Lodge and Gentlemen of the Notification Committee:

The message which you bring to me is one of signal honor. It is also a summons to duty. A single nomination for the office of President by a great party, which in thirty-two years out of forty has been triumphant at national elections, is a distinction which I gratefully cherish. To receive unanimous renomination by the same party is an expression of regard and a pledge of continued confidence for which it is difficult to make adequate acknowledgment.

If anything exceeds the honor of the office of President of the United States it is the responsibility which attaches to it. Having been invested with both, I do not under-appraise either. Any one who has borne the anxieties and burdens of the Presidential office, especially in time of national trial, cannot contemplate assuming it a second time without pro-

foundly realizing the severe reactions and the solemn obligations which it imposes, and this feeling is accentuated by the momentous problems which now press for settlement. If my countrymen shall confirm the action of the convention at our national election in November, I shall, craving Divine guidance, undertake the exalted trust, to administer it for the interest and honor of the country and the well-being of the new peoples who have become the objects of our care. The declaration of principles adopted by the convention has my hearty approval. At some future date I will consider its subjects in detail, and will by letter communicate to your chairman a more formal acceptance of the nomination.

On a like occasion four years ago I said:

The party that supplied by legislation the vast revenues for the conduct of our greatest war; that promptly restored the credit of the country at its close; that from its abundant revenues paid off a large share of the debt incurred by this war, and that resumed specie payments and placed our paper currency upon a sound and enduring basis, can be safely trusted to preserve both our credit and currency with honor, stability and inviolability. The American people hold the financial honor of our government as sacred as our flag, and can be relied upon to guard it with the same sleepless vigilance. They hold its preservation above party fealty, and have often demonstrated that party ties avail nothing when the spotless credit of our country is threatened.

The dollar paid to the farmer, the wage-earner and the pensioner must continue forever equal in purchasing and debt-paying power to the dollar paid to any government creditor.

Our industrial supremacy, our productive capacity, our business and commercial prosperity, our labor and its rewards, our national credit and currency, our proud financial honor, and our splendid free citizenship, the birthright of every American, are all involved in the pending campaign, and thus every home in the land is directly and intimately connected with their proper settlement.

TRADE MUST BE WON BACK.

Our domestic trade must be won back, and our idle working people employed in gainful occupations at American wages. Our home market must be restored to its proud rank of first in the world, and our foreign trade, so precipitately cut off by adverse national legislation, reopened on fair and equitable terms for our surplus agricultural and manufacturing products.

Public confidence must be resumed, and the skill, energy and the capital of our country find ample employment at home. The government of the United States must raise money enough to meet both its current expenses and increasing needs. Its revenues should be so raised as to protect the material interests of our people with the lightest possible drain upon their

resources, and maintaining that high standard of civilization which has distinguished our country for more than a century of its existence.

The national credit, which has thus far fortunately resisted every assault upon it, must and will be upheld and strengthened. If sufficient revenues are provided for the support of the government there will be no necessity for borrowing money and increasing the public debt.

WORK TO FULFILL PROMISES.

Three and one-half years of legislation and administration have been concluded since these words were spoken. Have those to whom was confided the direction of the government kept their pledges? The record is made up. The people are not unfamiliar with what has been accomplished. The gold standard has been reaffirmed and strengthened. The endless chain has been broken and the drain upon our gold reserve no longer frets us. The credit of the country has been advanced to the highest place among all nations. We are refunding our bonded debt bearing three and four and five per cent interest at two per cent, a lower rate than that of any other country, and already more than three hundred millions have been so refunded, with a gain to the government of many millions of dollars. Instead of 16 to 1, for which our opponents contended four years ago, legislation has been enacted, which, while utilizing all forms of our money, secures one fixed value for every dollar, and that the best known to the civilized world.

EFFECT OF TARIFF LAW.

A tariff which protects American labor and industry and provides ample revenues has been written in public law. We have lower interest and higher wages; more money and fewer mortgages. The world's markets have been opened to American products, which go now where they have never gone before. We have passed from a bond-issuing to a bond-paying nation; from a nation of borrowers to a nation of lenders; from deficiency in revenue to a surplus; from fear to confidence; from enforced idleness to profitable employment. The public faith has been upheld; public order has been maintained. We have prosperity at home and prestige abroad.

Unfortunately the threat of 1896 has just been renewed by the allied parties without abatement or modification. The gold bill has been denounced and its repeal demanded. The menace of 16 to 1, therefore, still hangs over us with all its dire consequences to credit and confidence, to business and industry. The enemies of sound currency are rallying their scattered forces. The people must once more unite and overcome the advocates of repudiation and must not relax their energy until the battle for public honor and honest money shall again triumph.

PLEDGES FULFILLED.

A Congress which will sustain, and, if need be, strengthen the present law, can prevent a financial catastrophe, which every lover of the republic is interested to avert.

Not satisfied with assaulting the currency and credit of the government, our political adversaries condemn the tariff law enacted at the extra session of Congress in 1897, known as the Dingley act, passed in obedience to the will of the people, expressed at the election in the preceding November, a law which at once stimulated our industries, opened the idle factories and mines, and gave to the laborer and to the farmer fair returns for their toil and investment. Shall we go back to a tariff which brings deficiency in our revenues and destruction to our industrial enterprises?

Faithful to its pledges in these internal affairs, how has the government discharged its international duties?

THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII.

Our platform of 1896 declared "the Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them." This purpose has been fully accomplished by annexation, and delegates from those beautiful islands have participated in the convention for which you speak to-day. In the great conference of nations at The Hague we reaffirmed before the world the Monroe doctrine and our adherence to it and our determination not to participate in the complications of Europe. We have happily ended the European alliance in Samoa, securing to ourselves one of the most valuable harbors in the Pacific Ocean, while the open door in China gives to us fair and equal competition in the vast trade of the Orient.

THE POSSESSIONS CEDED BY SPAIN.

Some things have happened which were not promised, nor even foreseen, and our purposes in relation to them must not be left in doubt. A just war has been waged for humanity, and with it have come new problems and responsibilities. Spain has been ejected from the Western Hemisphere, and our flag floats over her former territory. Cuba has been liberated and our guarantees to her people will be sacredly executed. A beneficent government has been provided for Porto Rico. The Philippines are ours and American authority must be supreme throughout the Archipelago. There will be amnesty broad and liberal, but no abatement of our rights, no abandonment of our duty. There must be no scuttle policy. We will fulfill in the Philippines the obligations imposed by the triumphs of our arms and by the treaty of peace, by international law, by the nation's sense of honor, and, more than all, by the rights, interests and conditions of the Philippine people themselves.

No outside interference blocks the way to peace and a stable government. The obstructionists are here, not elsewhere. They may postpone but they cannot defeat the realization of the high purpose of this nation to restore order to the islands and to establish a just and generous government, in which the inhabitants shall have the largest participation for which they are capable.

The organized forces which have been misled into rebellion have been dispersed by our faithful soldiers and sailors, and the people of the islands, delivered from anarchy, pillage and oppression, recognize American sovereignty as the symbol and pledge of peace, justice, law, righteous freedom, education, the security of life and property, and the welfare and prosperity of their several communities.

THE POWER OF CONGRESS.

We reassert the early principle of the Republican party, sustained by unbroken judicial precedents, that the representatives of the people in Congress assembled have full legislative power over territory belonging to the United States, subject to the fundamental safeguards of liberty, justice and personal rights, and are vested with ample authority to act "for the highest interests of our nation and the people entrusted to its care." The doctrine, first proclaimed in the cause of freedom, will never be used as a weapon for oppression. I am glad to be assured by you that what we have done in the far East has the approval of the country.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

The sudden and terrible crisis in China calls for the gravest consideration, and you will not expect from me now any further expression than to say that my best efforts shall be given to the immediate purpose of protecting the lives of our citizens who are in peril, with the ultimate object of the peace and welfare of China, the safeguarding of all our treaty rights and the maintenance of those principles of impartial intercourse to which the civilized world is pledged.

GROWTH OF NATIONAL SENTIMENT.

I cannot conclude without congratulating my countrymen upon the strong national sentiment which finds expression in every part of our common country and the increased respect with which the American name is greeted throughout the world. We have been moving in untried paths, but our steps have been guided by honor and duty. There will be no turning aside, no wavering, no retreat. No blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity, and none will be. We will perform without fear every national and international obligation.

The Republican party was dedicated to freedom forty-four years ago. It has been the party of liberty and emancipation from that hour; not of profession, but of performance. It broke the shackles of 4,000,000 slaves, and made them free, and to the party of Lincoln has come another supreme opportunity which it has bravely met in the liberation of 10,000,000 of the human family from the yoke of imperialism.

In its solution of great problems, in its performance of high duties, it has had the support of members of all parties in the past, and confidently invokes their co-operation in the future.

Permit me to express, Mr. Chairman, my most sincere appreciation of the complimentary terms in which you convey the official notice of my nomination, and my thanks to the members of the committee and to the great constituency which they represent for this additional evidence of their favor and support.

While the speech of the President closed the formal notification, there had not been oratory enough for the gathering, and other speakers were called for.

Senator Hanna, of Ohio; Senator Fairbanks, of Indiana; Charles Emory Smith, Postmaster-General; Colonel Samuel Parker, of Hawaii, and others, were also heard.

NOTIFICATION OF HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Governor Roosevelt was officially notified July 12, 1900, of his nomination for the Vice-Presidency, at his country home, Sagamore, near Oyster Bay. The notification committee appointed by the Republican Convention at Philadelphia left New York on a special train at 10:30 o'clock, and made a quick run to Oyster Bay, where carriages were in waiting to convey them to Sagamore. A number of invited guests accompanied the party, most of them prominent New Yorkers. Members of the notification committee present were: Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, the Chairman; J. B. Thompson, Colorado; A. J. Soper, Connecticut; Alvin D. Connor, Delaware; C. S. Hernley, Indiana; J. J. Marsh, Iowa; J. T. Bradley, Kansas; Albert Pierce, Maine; Alexander Laverty, Nebraska; Albert Wallace, New Hampshire; F. V. Greene, New York; T. S. Rollins, North Carolina; G. C. Rawlins, Ohio; J. H. Murdock, Pennsylvania; L. B. Darling, Rhode Island; Emil Brauch, South Dakota; G. G. Smithers, Virginia; James Reynolds, Wisconsin; John E. Jones, District of Columbia; W. L. McWilliams, Indian Territory; John G. Long, Florida; O. C. Strong, Oklahoma.

Among the invited guests who accompanied the committee were William Barnes, Jr.; Douglas Robinson, F. W. Holls, Col. John H. Partridge, Congressman W. A. Wadsworth, and State Senator T. E. Ellsworth.

There was a miscellaneous collection of vehicles drawn up at the station when the special train drew in, ranging from single-seated buggies to big carryalls. The committeemen and guests had a good-natured scramble for seats, and the long line of turnouts started in a brisk trot over the three miles of dusty roads to Sagamore.

It was noon when the party arrived at its destination. Governor Roosevelt received them on the wide vine-covered porch of Sagamore. Standing on the lower step, under the porte cochere, he grasped the hand of each gentleman as he alighted and then, turning, presented each to Mrs. Roosevelt, who stood on the veranda behind him. As the straggling procession was rather slow in arriving, the early arrivals dispersed about the breezy verandas and grounds and chatted informally before the formal ceremony of notification occurred.

SENATOR WOLCOTT'S SPEECH.

Shortly after twelve o'clock Senator Wolcott called the committee to the porch. There in the cool shade of the awnings and vines he read the formal notification in his clear and resonant voice. He said:

"Governor Roosevelt: The pleasant duty has devolved upon this committee, appointed by the National Republican Convention, and representing every State in the Union, to make known to you officially the action of the convention and to hand you a copy of the platform as adopted, which embodies the principles of the party.

"The representatives of the Republican party, in convention assembled, unanimously and spontaneously selected you as the candidate of the party at the next election for the high and dignified office of Vice-President of the United States. You were so selected and named through no wish of your own, but because the convention believed that you, among all the Republicans in the land, were best fitted and adapted to be the associate of our President, in the important and stirring campaign upon which we are entering. The convention realized that you were needed in the great Empire State, whose executive you now are, and whose people would delight still further to honor you, but it believed that your path of duty lay for the future in the field of national usefulness.

"You are still a young man, as years are counted; but the country knows more of you than of most of its citizens. You were identified, and will ever be associated with those efforts toward reform in the civil service which command the approval of intelligent men of all political parties. Your stirring love of adventure has made you a more familiar figure in Western camps and on Western plains than on the avenues of your native city. Your sterling Americanism has led you to the mastery of our earlier history, and you have told us of the winning of the West with a charm and a spirit that have made us all better lovers of our country; while your tales of Western hunting and adventure have filled the breast of every lad in the land with envy and emulation, and whatever doubts may have existed in the past, now that you are our candidate, they will be believed to be true by every good Republican. [Laughter and applause.]

"There is no man whose privilege it was to know you and to associate with you while you were the Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley's appointment, who is not eager to testify to the great ability and fidelity which characterized your incumbency of that office. Of your services to our country during the late war with Spain, it is not necessary for me to speak.

"Your name will ever be identified with the heroic achievements of our army, and your warmest friends and most devoted admirers are the gallant band of Rough Riders whom you led to victory.

"This bright and glorious record, however, did not lead that great convention at Philadelphia to insist upon you as its candidate, although it fills with pride the heart of every true American. The Republican party has chosen you because, from your earliest manhood until to-day, in whatever post you have been called upon to fill, and notably during your two years of splendid service as chief executive of the State of New York, you have everywhere and at all times stood for that which was clean and uplifting,

and against everything that was sordid and base. You have shown the people of this country that a political career and good citizenship could go hand in hand, and that devotion to the public welfare was consistent with party membership and party organization. There is not a young man in these United States who has not found in your life an influence, an incentive to better things and higher ideals.

"With President McKinley you will lead our ticket to victory, for you have both been tested, and in your honor, your patriotism and your civic virtues the American people have pride and confidence."

Senator Wolcott's address was frequently applauded, his reference to Governor Roosevelt's hunting stories evoking a hearty laugh. When he stepped forward he stood in a clear space on the crowded porch, facing the doorway of a reception room, in front of which the Governor stood in erect military attitude.

To the left were a number of ladies and other guests of the house, while Mrs. Roosevelt stood among them, the three children of the Governor looking on with wide-eyed interest.

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT'S ACCEPTANCE.

When Senator Wolcott concluded, Governor Roosevelt stepped a pace forward and replied. His voice was clear and firm, and as he proceeded there were several interruptions of applause. He said:

"Mr. Chairman: I accept the honor conferred upon me with the keenest and deepest appreciation of what it means, and, above all, of the responsibility that goes with it. Everything that is in my power to do will be done to secure the re-election of President McKinley, to whom it has been given in this crisis of the national history to stand for and embody the principles which lie closest to the heart of every American worthy of the name.

"This is very much more than a mere party contest. We stand at the parting of the ways, and the people have now to decide whether they shall go forward along the path of prosperity and high honor abroad, or whether they will turn their backs upon what has been done during the past three years; whether they will plunge this country into an abyss of misery and disaster, or, what is worse than even misery and disaster—shame. I feel that we have a right to appeal not merely to Republicans, but to all good citizens, no matter what may have been their party affiliations in the past, and to ask them, on the strength of the record that President McKinley has made during the past three years and on the strength of the threat implied in what was done in Kansas City a few days ago, to stand shoulder to shoulder with us, perpetuating the conditions under which we have reached a degree of prosperity never before attained in the nation's history and under which abroad we have put the American flag on a level where it never before in the history of the country has been placed. For these reasons I feel we have a right to look forward with confident expectation to what the verdict of

the people will be next November, and to ask all men to whom the well-being of the country and the honor of the national name are dear to stand with us as we fight for prosperity at home and the honor of the flag abroad."

AN INFORMAL POSTSCRIPT.

A round of applause broke out as the Governor concluded; but he checked it instantly by saying:

"Gentlemen, one moment, please. Here, Ned," he cried to Senator Wolcott, "this is not for the National Committee, but I want to say this to my friends. Friends of my own State who are here, just let me say I appreciate seeing so many of you here to-day. I want to say I am more than honored and pleased at having been made a candidate for Vice-President on the national ticket; but you cannot imagine how badly I feel at leaving the men with whom I have endeavored and worked for civic decency and righteousness and honesty in New York."

This little postscript to his formal speech was heartily applauded, and the Governor remarked:

"I shall ask you, gentlemen, to step this way, as some misguided photographers wish to take our photographs."

The crowd followed him to the east veranda, where the photographs were taken.

Refreshments were then served on the porches and in the dining room, and a half hour of general conversation followed.

At 1:15 P. M. the party left and started on the return drive to Oyster Bay, where the special train awaited them.

On reaching the railway station the following telegram was sent to President McKinley:

"The committee appointed to notify Governor Roosevelt of his nomination to the Vice-Presidency have fulfilled that pleasant duty and join in this message of congratulation and good-will.

[Signed]

"EDWARD O. WOLCOTT."

THE LETTERS OF ACCEPTANCE.

PRESIDENT McKINLEY'S LETTER.

SOUND MONEY THE IMMEDIATE ISSUE—REVIEW OF FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS—THE MERCHANT MARINE AND DEVELOPMENT OF CARRYING TRADE—THE ISTHMIAN CANAL—SUGGESTIONS RESPECTING TRUSTS—THE CIVIL SERVICE—OUR PLEDGES TO CUBA—THE PARIS TREATY—OUR TITLE, AND OUR DUTY TO MAINTAIN OUR SOVEREIGNTY AND FLAG—THE PHILIPPINE SITUATION OUTLINED AND OUR POSITION PLAINLY STATED.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 8, 1900.

Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Chairman Notification Committee:

MY DEAR SIR:—The nomination of the Republican National Convention, of June 19, 1900, for the office of President of the United States, which, as the official representative of the Convention, you have conveyed to me, is accepted. I have carefully examined the platform adopted, and give to it my hearty approval. Upon the great issue of the last national election it is clear. It upholds the gold standard and indorses the legislation of the present Congress by which that standard has been effectively strengthened. The stability of our national currency is therefore secure so long as those who adhere to this platform are kept in control of the government. In the first battle, that of 1896, the friends of the gold standard and of sound currency were triumphant and the country is enjoying the fruits of that victory. Our antagonists, however, are not satisfied. They compel us to a second battle upon the same lines on which the first was fought and won. While regretting the reopening of this question, which can only disturb the present satisfactory financial condition of the government and visit uncertainty upon our great business enterprises, we accept the issue and again invite the sound money forces to join in winning another and, we hope, a permanent triumph for an honest financial system, which will continue inviolable the public faith.

As in 1896, the three silver parties are united under the same leader who immediately after the election of that year, in an address to the bimetallicists, said:

"The friends of bimetallism have not been vanquished; they have simply been overcome. They believe that the gold standard is a conspiracy of the money-changers against the welfare of the human race, and they will continue the warfare against it."

The policy thus proclaimed has been accepted and confirmed by these parties. The Silver Democratic platform of 1900 continues the warfare against the so-called gold conspiracy when it expressly says, "we reiterate the demand of that (the Chicago) platform of 1896 for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

So the issue is presented. It will be noted that the demand is for the immediate restoration of the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. If another issue is paramount, this is immediate. It will admit of no delay and will suffer no postponement.

Turning to the other associated parties, we find in the Populist national platform, adopted at Sioux Falls, S. D., May 10, 1900, the following declaration:

"We pledge anew the People's Party never to cease the agitation until this financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute book, the Lincoln green-back restored, the bonds all paid and all corporation money forever retired. We reaffirm the demand for the reopening of the mints of the United States for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted, dollar for dollar, for the bank notes issued by private corporations under special privilege, granted by law of March 14, 1900, and prior national banking laws."

The platform of the Silver party adopted at Kansas City July 6, 1900, makes the following announcement:

"We declare it to be our intention to lend our efforts to the repeal of this currency law, which not only repudiates the ancient and time-honored principles of the American people before the Constitution was adopted, but is violative of the principles of the Constitution itself; and we shall not cease our efforts until there has been established in its place a monetary system based upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into money at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 by the independent action of the United States, under which system all paper money shall be issued by the government and all such money coined or issued shall be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, without exception."

In all three platforms these parties announce that their efforts shall be unceasing until the gold act shall be blotted from the statute books and the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 shall take its place.

The relative importance of the issues I do not stop to discuss. All of

them are important. Whichever party is successful will be bound in conscience to carry into administration and legislation its several declarations and doctrines. One declaration will be as obligatory as another, but all are not immediate. It is not possible that these parties would treat the doctrine of 16 to 1, the immediate realization of which is demanded by their several platforms, as void and inoperative in the event that they should be clothed with power. Otherwise their profession of faith is insincere. It is, therefore, the imperative business of those opposed to this financial heresy to prevent the triumph of the parties whose union is only assured by adherence to the silver issue. Will the American people, through indifference or fancied security, hazard the overthrow of the wise financial legislation of the past year and revive the danger of the silver standard, with all of the inevitable evils of shattered confidence and general disaster which justly alarmed and aroused them in 1896?

The Chicago platform of 1896 is reaffirmed in its entirety by the Kansas City Convention. Nothing has been omitted or recalled; so that all the perils then threatened are presented anew with the added force of a deliberate reaffirmation. Four years ago the people refused to place the seal of their approval upon these dangerous and revolutionary policies, and this year they will not fail to record again their earnest dissent.

The Republican party remains faithful to its principles of a tariff which supplies sufficient revenues for the government and adequate protection to our enterprises and producers; and of reciprocity which opens foreign markets to the fruits of American labor, and furnishes new channels through which to market the surplus of American farms. The time-honored principles of protection and reciprocity were the first pledges of Republican victory to be written into public law.

The present Congress has given to Alaska a territorial government for which it had waited more than a quarter of a century; has established a representative government in Hawaii; has enacted bills for the most liberal treatment of the pensioners and their widows; has revived the free homestead policy. In its great financial law it provided for the establishment of banks of issue with a capital of \$25,000 for the benefit of villages and rural communities, and bringing the opportunity for profitable business in banking within the reach of moderate capital. Many are already availing themselves of this privilege.

During the past year more than nineteen millions of United States bonds have been paid from the surplus revenues of the Treasury and in addition twenty-five millions of two per cents matured, called by the government, are in process of payment. Pacific Railroad bonds issued by the government in aid of the roads in the sum of nearly forty-four million dollars have been paid since December 31, 1897. The Treasury balance is in satisfactory condition, showing on September 1, \$135,419,000, in addition to the \$150,000,000 gold reserve held in the Treasury. The government's relations with the Pacific railroads have been substantially closed, \$124,421,000 being received from

these roads, the greater part in cash and the remainder with ample securities for payments deferred.

Instead of diminishing, as was predicted four years ago, the volume of our currency is greater, per capita, than it has ever been. It was \$21.10 in 1896. It had increased to \$26.50 on July 1, 1900, and \$26.85 on September 1, 1900. Our total money on July 1, 1896, was \$1,506,434,966; on July 1, 1900, it was \$2,062,425,496, and \$2,096,683,042 on September 1, 1900.

Our industrial and agricultural conditions are more promising than they have been for many years; probably more so than they have ever been. Prosperity abounds everywhere throughout the republic. I rejoice that the Southern, as well as the Northern, States are enjoying a full share of these improved national conditions, and that all are contributing so largely to our remarkable industrial development. The money lender receives lower rewards for his capital than if it were invested in active business. The rates of interest are lower than they have ever been in this country, while those things which are produced on the farm and in the workshop, and the labor producing them, have advanced in value.

Our foreign trade shows a satisfactory and increasing growth. The amount of our exports for the year 1900 over those of the exceptionally prosperous year of 1899 was about \$500,000 for every day of the year, and these sums have gone into the homes and enterprises of the people. There has been an increase of over \$50,000,000 in the exports of agricultural products; \$92,692,220 in manufactures, and in the products of the mines over \$10,000,000. Our trade balances cannot fail to give satisfaction to the people of the country. In 1898 we sold abroad \$615,432,676 of products more than we bought abroad; in 1899 \$529,874,813, and in 1900 \$544,471,701, making during the three years a total balance in our favor of \$1,689,779,190—nearly five times the balance of trade in our favor for the whole period of 108 years from 1790 to June 30, 1897, inclusive.

Four hundred and thirty-six million dollars of gold have been added to the gold stock of the United States since July 1, 1896. The law of March 14, 1900, authorized the refunding into 2 per cent. bonds of that part of the public debt represented by the 3 per cents due in 1908, the 4 per cents due in 1907, and the 5 per cents due in 1904, aggregating \$840,000,000. More than one-third of the sum of these bonds was refunded in the first three months after the passage of the act, and on September 1 the sum had been increased more than \$33,000,000, making in all \$330,578,050, resulting in a net saving of over \$8,379,520. The ordinary receipts of the government for the fiscal year 1900 were \$79,527,060 in excess of its expenditures.

While our receipts, both from customs and internal revenue, have been greatly increased, our expenditures have been decreasing. Civil and miscellaneous expenses for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, were nearly \$14,000,000 less than in 1899, while on the war account there is a decrease of more than \$95,000,000. There were required \$8,000,000 less to support the navy this year than last, and expenditures on account of Indians were nearly two and three-quarter million dollars less than in 1899. The only

two items of increase in the public expenses of 1900 over 1899 are for pensions and interest on the public debt. For 1899 we expended for pensions \$139,394,929, and for the fiscal year 1900 our payments on this account amounted to \$140,877,316. The net increase of interest on the public debt of 1900 over 1899, required by the war loan, was \$263,408.25. While Congress authorized the government to make a war loan of \$400,000,000 at the beginning of the war with Spain, only \$200,000,000 of bonds were issued, bearing 3 per cent. interest, which were promptly and patriotically taken by our citizens.

Unless something unforeseen occurs to reduce our revenues or increase our expenditures, the Congress at its next session should reduce taxation very materially.

Five years ago we were selling government bonds bearing as high as 5 per cent. interest. Now we are redeeming them with a bond at par bearing 2 per cent. interest. We are selling our surplus products and lending our surplus money to Europe. One result of our selling to other nations so much more than we have bought from them during the past three years is a radical improvement of our financial relations. The great amounts of capital which have been borrowed of Europe for our rapid, material development have remained a constant drain upon our resources for interest and dividends and made our money markets liable to constant disturbances by calls for payment or heavy sales of our securities whenever money stringency or panic occurred abroad. We have now been paying these debts and bringing home many of our securities, and establishing countervailing credits abroad by our loans and placing ourselves upon a sure foundation of financial independence.

In the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and the Boer States of South Africa, the United States has maintained an attitude of neutrality in accordance with its well-known traditional policy. It did not hesitate however, when requested by the governments of the South African republics, to exercise its good offices for a cessation of hostilities. It is to be observed that while the South African republics made like request of other powers, the United States is the only one which complied. The British government declined to accept the intervention of any power.

Ninety-one per cent. of our exports and imports are now carried by foreign ships. For ocean transportation we pay annually to foreign ship-owners over \$165,000,000. We ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the world, and we ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sailors. Our own citizens should receive the transportation charges now paid to foreigners. I have called the attention of Congress to this subject in my several annual messages. In that of December 6, 1897, I said:

"Most desirable from every standpoint of national interest and patriotism is the effort to extend our foreign commerce. To this end our merchant marine should be improved and enlarged; we should do our full share of

the carrying trade of the world. We do not do it now. We should be the laggard no longer."

In my message of December 5, 1899, I said:

"Our national development will be one-sided and unsatisfactory so long as the remarkable growth of our inland industries remains unaccompanied by progress on the seas. There is no lack of constitutional authority for legislation which shall give to the country maritime strength commensurate with its industrial achievements and with its rank among the nations of the earth.

"The past year has recorded exceptional activity in our shipyards, and the promises of continual prosperity in shipbuilding are abundant. Advanced legislation for the protection of our seamen has been enacted. Our coast trade, under regulations wisely framed at the beginning of the government and since, shows results for the past fiscal year unequaled in our records or those of any other power. We shall fail to realize our opportunities, however, if we complacently regard only matters at home and blind ourselves to the necessity of securing our share in the valuable carrying trade of the world."

I now reiterate these views.

A subject of immediate importance to our country is the completion of a great water-way of commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific. The construction of a maritime canal is now more than ever indispensable to that intimate and ready communication between our eastern and western seaports demanded by the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and the expansion of our influence and trade in the Pacific.

Our national policy more imperatively than ever calls for its completion and control by this government, and it is believed that the next session of Congress, after receiving the full report of the commission appointed under the act approved March 3, 1899, will make provisions for the sure accomplishment of this great work.

Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good and should be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation. Publicity will be a helpful influence to check this evil. Uniformity of legislation in the several States should be secured. Discrimination between what is injurious and what is useful and necessary in business operations is essential to the wise and effective treatment of this subject. Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create monopolies, and control prices, should be effectively restrained.

The best service which can be rendered to labor is to afford it an oppor-

tunity for steady and remunerative employment, and give it every encouragement for advancement. The policy that subserves this end is the true American policy. The past three years have been more satisfactory to American workmen than many preceding years. Any change of the present industrial or financial policy of the government would be disastrous to their highest interests. With prosperity at home and an increasing foreign market for American products, employment should continue to wait upon labor, and with the present gold standard the workman is secured against payments for his labor in a depreciated currency. For labor, a short day is better than a short dollar; one will lighten the burdens, the other lessen the rewards of toil. The one will promote contentment and independence; the other penury and want. The wages of labor should be adequate to keep the home in comfort, educate the children, and, with thrift and economy, lay something by for the days of infirmity and old age.

Practical civil service reform has always had the support and encouragement of the Republican party. The future of the merit system is safe in its hands.

During the present administration, as occasions have arisen for modification or amendment in the existing civil service law and rules they have been made. Important amendments were promulgated by Executive order, under date of May 29, 1899, having for their principal purpose the exception from competitive examination of certain places involving fiduciary responsibilities, or duties of a strictly confidential, scientific, or executive character, which it was thought might better be filled either by non-competitive examination or by other tests of fitness in the discretion of the appointing officer. It is gratifying that the experience of more than a year has vindicated these changes in the marked improvement of the public service.

The merit system, as far as practicable, is made the basis for appointments to office in our new territory.

The American people are profoundly grateful to the soldiers, sailors, and marines who have in every time of conflict fought their country's battles and defended its honor. The survivors and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen are justly entitled to receive the generous and considerate care of the nation. Few are now left of those who fought in the Mexican war, and while many of the veterans of the civil war are still spared to us, their numbers are rapidly diminishing, and age and infirmity are increasing their dependence. These, with the soldiers of the Spanish war, will not be neglected by their grateful countrymen. The pension laws have been liberal. They should be justly administered, and will be. Preference should be given to the soldiers, sailors, and marines, their widows and orphans, with respect to employment in the public service.

We have been in possession of Cuba since the 1st of January, 1899. We have restored order and established domestic tranquility. We have fed the starving, clothed the naked, and ministered to the sick. We have improved the sanitary condition of the island. We have stimulated industry, introduced public education, and taken a full and comprehensive enumera-

tion of the inhabitants. The qualification of electors has been settled and under it officers have been chosen for all the municipalities of Cuba. These local governments are now in operation, administered by the people. Our military establishment has been reduced from forty-three thousand soldiers to less than six thousand. An election has been ordered to be held on the 15th of September under a fair election law already tried in the municipal elections, to choose members of a constitutional convention, and the convention by the same order is to assemble on the first Monday of November to frame a constitution upon which an independent government for the island will rest. All this is a long step in the fulfillment of our sacred guarantees to the people of Cuba.

We hold Porto Rico by the same title as the Philippines. The treaty of peace which ceded us the one conveyed to us the other. Congress has given to this island a government in which the inhabitants participate, elect their own legislature, enact their own local laws, provide their own system of taxation, and in these respects have the same power and privileges enjoyed by other Territories belonging to the United States, and a much larger measure of self-government than was given to the inhabitants of Louisiana under Jefferson. A district court of the United States for Porto Rico has been established and local courts have been inaugurated, all of which are in operation. The generous treatment of the Porto Ricans accords with the most liberal thought of our own country and encourages the best aspirations of the people of the island. While they do not have instant free commercial intercourse with the United States, Congress complied with my recommendation by removing, on the 1st day of May last, 85 per cent. of the duties and providing for the removal of the remaining 15 per cent. on the 1st of March, 1902, or earlier, if the legislature of Porto Rico shall provide local revenues for the expenses of conducting the government. During this intermediate period Porto Rican products coming into the United States pay a tariff of 15 per cent. of the rates under the Dingley act, and our goods going to Porto Rico pay a like rate. The duties thus paid and collected both in Porto Rico and the United States are paid to the government of Porto Rico, and no part thereof is taken by the national government. All of the duties from November 1, 1898, to June 30, 1900, aggregating the sum of \$2,250,523.21, paid at the custom-houses in the United States upon Porto Rican products, under the laws existing prior to the above-mentioned act of Congress, have gone into the treasury of Porto Rico to relieve the destitute and for schools and other public purposes. In addition to this, we have expended for relief, education, and improvement of roads the sum of \$1,513,084.95. The United States military force in the island has been reduced from 11,000 to 1,500, and native Porto Ricans constitute for the most part the local constabulary.

Under the new law and the inauguration of civil government there has been a gratifying revival of business. The manufactures of Porto Rico are developing; her imports are increasing; her tariff is yielding increased returns; her fields are being cultivated; free schools are being established.

Notwithstanding the many embarrassments incident to a change of national conditions, she is rapidly showing the good effects of her new relations to this nation.

For the sake of full and intelligent understanding of the Philippine question, and to give to the people authentic information of the acts and aims of the administration, I present at some length the events of importance leading up to the present situation. The purposes of the Executive are best revealed and can best be judged by what he has done and is doing. It will be seen that the power of the government has been used for the liberty, the peace, and the prosperity of the Philippine peoples, and that force has been employed only against force which stood in the way of the realization of these ends.

On the 25th day of April, 1898, Congress declared that a state of war existed between Spain and the United States. On May 1, 1898, Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. On May 19, 1898, Maj. Gen. Merritt, U. S. A., was placed in command of the military expedition to Manila, and directed, among other things, to immediately "publish a proclamation declaring that we come not to make war upon the people of the Philippines nor upon any party or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights. All persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, co-operate with the United States in its efforts to give effect to this beneficent purpose will receive the reward of its support and protection."

On July 3, 1898, the Spanish fleet in attempting to escape from Santiago harbor was destroyed by the American fleet, and on July 17, 1898, the Spanish garrison in the city of Santiago surrendered to the commander of the American forces.

Following these brilliant victories, on the 12th day of August, 1898, upon the initiative of Spain, hostilities were suspended, and a protocol was signed, with a view to arranging terms of peace between the two governments. In pursuance thereof I appointed as commissioners the following distinguished citizens to conduct the negotiations on the part of the United States: Hon. William R. Day, of Ohio; Hon. William P. Frye, of Maine; Hon. Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota; Hon. George Gray, of Delaware, and Hon. White-law Reid, of New York.

In addressing the Peace Commission before its departure for Paris, I said:

"It is my wish that throughout the negotiations intrusted to the commission the purpose and spirit with which the United States accepted the unwelcome necessity of war should be kept constantly in view. We took up arms only in obedience to the dictates of humanity and in the fulfillment of high public and moral obligations. We had no design of aggrandizement and no ambition of conquest. Through the long course of repeated representations which preceded and aimed to avert the struggle, and in the final arbitrament of force, this country was impelled solely by the purpose of reliev-

ing grievous wrongs and removing long existing conditions which disturbed its tranquility, which shocked the moral sense of mankind, and which could no longer be endured.

"It is my earnest wish that the United States, in making peace, should follow the same high rule of conduct which guided it in facing war. It should be as scrupulous and magnanimous in the concluding settlement as it was just and humane in its original action. * * *

"Our aim in the adjustment of peace should be directed to lasting results and to the achievement of the common good under the demands of civilization, rather than to ambitious designs. * * *

"Without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition, the presence and success of our arms at Manila impose upon us obligations which we cannot disregard. The march of events rules and overrules human action. Avowing unreservedly the purpose which has animated all our efforts and still solicitous to adhere to it, we cannot be unmindful that without any desire or design on our part the war has brought us new duties and responsibilities which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation, on whose growth and career from the beginning, the Ruler of Nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization."

On October 28, 1898, while the peace commission was continuing its negotiations in Paris, the following additional instruction was sent:

"It is imperative upon us that as victors we should be governed only by motives which will exalt our nation. Territorial expansion should be our least concern; that we shall not shirk the moral obligations of our victory is of the greatest. It is undisputed that Spain's authority is permanently destroyed in every part of the Philippines. To leave any part in her feeble control now would increase our difficulties and be opposed to the interests of humanity. * * * Nor can we permit Spain to transfer any of the islands to another power. Nor can we invite another power or powers to join the United States in sovereignty over them. We must either hold them or turn them back to Spain.

"Consequently, grave as are the responsibilities and unforeseen as are the difficulties which are before us, the President can see but one plain path of duty, the acceptance of the archipelago. Greater difficulties and more serious complications—administrative and international—would follow any other course. The President has given to the views of the commissioners the fullest consideration, and in reaching the conclusion above announced in the light of information communicated to the commission and to the President, since your departure, he has been influenced by the single consideration of duty and humanity. The President is not unmindful of the distressed financial condition of Spain, and whatever consideration the United States may show must come from its sense of generosity and benevolence, rather than from any real or technical obligation."

Again, on November 13, I instructed the commission:

"From the standpoint of indemnity, both the archipelagoes (Porto Rico

and the Philippines) are insufficient to pay our war expenses; but, aside from this, do we not owe an obligation to the people of the Philippines which will not permit us to return them to the sovereignty of Spain? Could we justify ourselves in such a course, or could we permit their barter to some other power? Willing or not, we have the responsibility of duty which we cannot escape. * * * The President cannot believe any division of the archipelago can bring us anything but embarrassment in the future. The trade and commercial side, as well as the indemnity for the cost of the war, are questions we might yield. They might be waived or compromised, but the questions of duty and humanity appeal to the President so strongly that he can find no appropriate answer but the one he has here marked out."

The treaty of peace was concluded on December 10, 1898. By its terms the archipelago, known as the Philippine Islands, was ceded by Spain to the United States. It was also provided that "the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress." Eleven days thereafter, on December 21, the following direction was given to the commander of our forces in the Philippines:

"* * * The military commander of the United States is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain, in severing the former political relations of the inhabitants and in establishing a new political power, the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the securing of the persons and property of the people of the island and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come, not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights."

In order to facilitate the most humane, pacific, and effective extension of authority throughout these islands, and to secure, with the least possible delay, the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants, I appointed in January, 1899, a commission consisting of Hon. Jacob Gould Schurman, of New York; Admiral George Dewey, U. S. N.; Hon. Charles Denby, of Indiana; Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan, and Maj. Gen. Elwell S. Otis, U. S. A.

Their instructions contained the following:

"In the performance of this duty the commissioners are enjoined to meet at the earliest possible day in the city of Manila and to announce, by public proclamation, their presence and the mission intrusted to them, carefully setting forth that, while the military government already proclaimed is to be maintained and continued so long as necessity may require, efforts will be made to alleviate the burden of taxation, to establish industrial and commercial prosperity, and to provide for the safety of persons and of property by such means as may be found conducive to these ends.

"The commissioners will endeavor, without interference with the military

authorities of the United States now in control of the Philippines, to ascertain what amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants and what improvement in public order may be practicable, and for this purpose they will study attentively the existing social and political state of the various populations, particularly as regards the forms of local government, the administration of justice, the collection of customs and other taxes, the means of transportation, and the need of public improvements. They will report * * * the results of their observations and reflections, and will recommend such Executive action as may from time to time seem to them wise and useful.

"The commissioners are hereby authorized to confer authoritatively with any persons resident in the islands from whom they may believe themselves able to derive information or suggestions valuable for the purpose of their commission, or whom they may choose to employ as agents, as may be necessary for this purpose. * * *

"It is my desire that in all their relations with the inhabitants of the islands the commissioners exercise due respect for all the ideals, customs, and institutions of the tribes which compose the population, emphasizing upon all occasions the just and beneficent intentions of the government of the United States. It is also my wish and expectation that the commissioners may be received in a manner due to the honored and authorized representatives of the American republic, duly commissioned on account of their knowledge, skill, and integrity as bearers of the good will, the protection, and the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation."

On the 6th of February, 1899, the treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States, and the Congress, immediately appropriated \$20,000,000 to carry out its provisions. The ratifications were exchanged by the United States and Spain on the 11th of April, 1899.

As early as April, 1899, the Philippine Commission, of which Dr. Schurman was president, endeavored to bring about peace in the islands by repeated conferences with leading Tagalogs representing the so-called insurgent government, to the end that some general plan of government might be offered them which they would accept. So great was the satisfaction of the insurgent commissioners with the form of government proposed by the American commissioners that the latter submitted the proposed scheme to me for approval and my action thereon is shown by the cable message following:

"May 5, 1899.

"Schurman, Manila:

"Yours 4th received. You are authorized to propose that under the military power of the President, pending action of Congress, government of the Philippine Islands shall consist of a governor general appointed by the President; cabinet appointed by the governor general; a general advisory council elected by the people; the qualifications of electors to be carefully considered and determined; and the governor general to have absolute veto. Judiciary strong and independent; principal judges appointed by the Presi-

dent. The cabinet and judges to be chosen from natives or Americans, or both, having regard for fitness. The President earnestly desires the cessation of bloodshed, and that the people of the Philippine Islands at an early date shall have the largest measure of local self-government consistent with peace and good order."

In the latter part of May another group of representatives came from the insurgent leader. The whole matter was fully discussed with them and promise of acceptance seemed near at hand. They assured our commissioners they would return after consulting their leader, but they never did.

As a result of the views expressed by the first Tagalog representative favorable to the plan of the commission it appears that he was, by military order of the insurgent leader, stripped of his shoulder straps, dismissed from the army, and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment.

The views of the commission are best set forth in their own words:

"Deplorable as war is, the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable by us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left to us except ignominious retreat.

"It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met by force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission. The commission is of the opinion that there has been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands either with honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants."

After the most thorough study of the peoples of the archipelago the commission reported, among other things:

"Their lack of education and political experience, combined with their racial and linguistic diversities, disqualified them, in spite of their mental gifts and domestic virtues, to undertake the task of governing the archipelago at the present time. The most that can be expected of them is to co-operate with the Americans in the administration of general affairs, from Manila as a center, and to undertake, subject to American control or guidance (as may be found necessary), the administration of provincial and municipal affairs. * * *

"Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believes that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing, and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable. * * *

"Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national

honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We cannot, from any point of view, escape the responsibilities of government which our sovereignty entails, and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the peoples of the Philippine Islands."

Satisfied that nothing further could be accomplished in pursuance of their mission until the rebellion was suppressed, and desiring to place before the Congress the result of their observations, I requested the commission to return to the United States. Their most intelligent and comprehensive report was submitted to Congress.

In March, 1900, believing that the insurrection was practically ended, and earnestly desiring to promote the establishment of a stable government in the archipelago, I appointed the following civil commission: Hon. William H. Taft, of Ohio; Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan; Hon. Luke I. Wright, of Tennessee; Hon. Henry C. Ide, of Vermont, and Hon. Bernard Moses, of California. My instructions to them contained the following:

"You (the Secretary of War) will instruct the commission * * * to devote their attention, in the first instance, to the establishment of municipal governments in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs, to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order, and loyalty. * * * Whenever the commission is of the opinion that the condition of affairs in the islands is such that the central administration may safely be transferred from military to civil control, they will report that conclusion to you (the Secretary of War), with their recommendations as to the form of central government to be established for the purpose of taking over the control. * * *

"Beginning with the 1st day of September, 1900, the authority to exercise, subject to my approval, through the Secretary of War, that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands, which is of a legislative nature, is to be transferred from the military governor of the islands to this commission, to be thereafter exercised by them in the place and stead of the military governor, under such rules and regulations as you (the Secretary of War) shall prescribe, until the establishment of the civil central government for the islands contemplated in the last foregoing paragraph or until Congress shall otherwise provide. Exercise of this legislative authority will include the making of rules and orders having the effect of law for the raising of revenue by taxes, customs duties and imposts; the appropriation and expenditure of the public funds of the islands; the establishment of an educational system throughout the islands; the establishment of a system to secure an efficient civil service; the organization and establishment of courts; the organization and establishment of municipal and departmental governments; and all other matters of a civil nature for which the military governor is now competent to provide by rules or orders of a legislative

character. The commission will also have power during the same period to appoint to office such officers under the judicial, educational and civil service systems and in the municipal and departmental governments as shall be provided for. * * *

Until Congress shall take action, I directed that:

"Upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines must be imposed these inviolable rules:

"That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offense, or be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist except as a punishment for crime; that no bill of attainder, or ex-post facto law shall be passed; that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the rights of the people to peaceably assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances; that no law shall be made respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed. * * *

"It will be the duty of the commission to promote and extend, and, as they find occasion, to improve, the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this they should regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community. * * * Especial attention should be at once given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the islands to acquire the use of the English language. * * *

"Upon all officers and employes of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of the duty to observe, not merely the material but the personal and social rights of the people of the islands, and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are accustomed to require from each other.

"The articles of capitulation of the city of Manila on the 13th of August, 1898, concluded with these words:

"This city, its inhabitants, its churches and religious worship, its educational establishments, and its private property of all descriptions are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army."

"I believe that this pledge has been faithfully kept. A high and sacred obligation rests upon the government of the United States to give protection for property and life, civil and religious freedom, and wise, firm, and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity, to all the people of the Philippine Islands. I charge this commission to labor for the full performance of this obligation, which concerns the honor and conscience of their country, in the firm hope that through their labors all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and the protection of the people of the United States."

That all might share in the regeneration of the islands and participate in their government, I directed Gen. MacArthur, the military governor of the Philippines, to issue a proclamation of amnesty, which contained, among other statements, the following:

"Manila, P. I., June 21, 1900.

"By direction of the President of the United States, the undersigned announces amnesty, with complete immunity for the past and absolute liberty of action for the future to all persons who are now or at any time since February 4, 1899, have been in insurrection against the United States in either a military or a civil capacity, and who shall, within a period of ninety days from the date hereof, formally renounce all connection with such insurrection and subscribe to a declaration acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty and authority of the United States in and over the Philippine Islands. The privilege herewith published is extended to all concerned without any reservation whatever, excepting that persons who have violated the laws of war during the period of active hostilities are not embraced within the scope of this amnesty. * * *

"In order to mitigate as much as possible consequences resulting from the various disturbances which since 1896 have succeeded each other so rapidly and to provide in some measure for destitute Filipino soldiers during the transitory period which must inevitably succeed a general peace, the military authorities of the United States will pay 30 pesos to each man who presents a rifle in good condition."

Under their instructions the commission, composed of representative Americans of different sections of the country and from different political parties, whose character and ability guarantee the most faithful, intelligent, and patriotic service, are now laboring to establish stable government under civil control, in which the inhabitants shall participate, giving them opportunity to demonstrate how far they are prepared for self-government.

This commission, under date of August 21, 1900, makes an interesting report, from which I quote the following extracts:

"Hostility against Americans originally aroused by absurd falsehoods of unscrupulous leaders. The distribution of troops in three hundred posts has by contact largely dispelled hostility, and steadily improved the temper of the people. This improvement is furthered by abuses of insurgents. Large numbers of people long for peace, and willing to accept government

under the United States. Insurgents not surrendering after defeat divided into small guerilla bands under general officers or become robbers. Nearly all of the prominent generals and politicians of the insurrection, except Aguinaldo, have since been captured or have surrendered and taken the oath of allegiance. * * * All Northern Luzon, except two provinces, substantially free from insurgents. People busy planting and asking for municipal organization. Railway and telegraph line from Manila to Dagupan, 122 miles, not molested for five months. * * * Tagalogs alone active in leading guerrilla warfare. In Negros, Cebu, Romblon, Masbate, Sibuyan, Tablas, Bohol, and other Philippine islands little disturbance exists, and civil government eagerly awaited. * * * Four years of war and lawlessness in parts of islands have created unsettled conditions. * * * Native constabulary and militia, which should be organized at once, will end this and the terrorism to which defenseless people are subjected. The natives desire to enlist in these organizations. If judiciously selected and officered, will be efficient forces for maintenance of order and will permit early material reduction of United States troops. * * * Turning islands over to coterie of Tagalog politicians will blight fair prospects of enormous improvement; drive out capital, make life and property secular, and religion most insecure; banish by fear of cruel proscription considerable body of conservative Filipinos, who have aided Americans in well-founded belief that their people are not now fit for self-government, and reintroduce same oppression and corruption which existed in all provinces under Malolos insurgent government during the eight months of its control. The result will be factional strife between jealous leaders, chaos and anarchy, and will require and justify active intervention of our government or some other. * * * Business interrupted by war much improved as peace extends. * * * In Negros more sugar in cultivation than ever before. New forestry regulations give impetus to timber trade and reduce high price of lumber. The customs collections for last quarter 50 per cent. greater than ever in Spanish history, and August collections show further increase. The total revenue for same period one-third greater than in any quarter under Spain, though cedula tax, chief source of Spanish revenue, practically abolished. Economy and efficiency of military government have created surplus fund of \$6,000,000, which should be expended in much needed public works, notably improvement of Manila harbor. * * * With proper tariff and facilities, Manila will become great port of Orient."

The commission is confident that "by a judicious customs law, reasonable land tax, and proper corporation franchise tax, imposition of no greater rate than that in average American States will give less annoyance, and with peace will produce revenues sufficient to pay expenses of efficient government, including militia and constabulary." They "are preparing a stringent civil service law, giving equal opportunity to Filipinos and Americans, with preference for former where qualifications are equal, to enter at lowest rank, and, by promotion, reach head of department." * * * Forty-five miles of railroad extension under negotiation will give access to a large

province rich in valuable minerals, a mile high, with strictly temperate climate. * * * Railroad construction will give employment to many, and communication will furnish market to vast stretches of rich agricultural lands."

They report that there are "calls from all parts of the islands for public schools, school supplies, and English teachers, greater than the commission can provide until a comprehensive school system is organized. Night schools for teaching English to adults are being established in response to popular demand. Native children show aptitude in learning English. Spanish is spoken by a small fraction of people, and in a few years the medium of communication in the courts, public offices, and between different tribes will be English; creation of central government within eighteen months, under which substantially all rights described in the bill of rights in the Federal Constitution are to be secured to the people of the Philippines, will bring to them contentment, prosperity, education, and political enlightenment."

This shows to my countrymen what has been and is being done to bring the benefits of liberty and good government to these wards of the nation. Every effort has been directed to their peace and prosperity, their advancement and well-being, not for our aggrandizement nor for pride of might, not for trade or commerce, not for exploitation, but for humanity and civilization; and for the protection of the vast majority of the population who welcome our sovereignty against the designing minority, whose first demand after the surrender of Manila by the Spanish army was to enter the city that they might loot it and destroy those not in sympathy with their selfish and treacherous designs.

Nobody who will avail himself of the facts will longer hold that there was any alliance between our soldiers and the insurgents, or that any promise of independence was made to them. Long before their leader had reached Manila they had resolved if the commander of the American navy would give them arms with which to fight the Spanish army, they would later turn upon us, which they did murderously and without the shadow of cause or justification. There may be those without the means of full information who believe that we were in alliance with the insurgents and that we assured them that they should have independence. To such, let me repeat the facts. On the 26th of May, 1898, Admiral Dewey was instructed by me to make no alliance with any party or faction in the Philippines that would incur liability to maintain their cause in the future, and he replied under date of June 6, 1898, "Have acted according to spirit of department's instructions from the beginning, and I have entered into no alliance with the insurgents or with any faction. This squadron can reduce the defenses of Manila at any moment, but it is considered useless until the arrival of sufficient United States forces to retain possession." In the report of the first Philippine commission, submitted on November 2, 1899, Admiral Dewey, one of its members, said: "No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo, nor was any promise of independence made to him at any time."

Gen. Merritt arrived in the Philippines on July 23, 1898, and a dispatch from Admiral Dewey to the government at Washington, said: "Merritt arrived yesterday. Situation is most critical at Manila. The Spanish may surrender at any moment. Merritt's most difficult problem will be how to deal with the insurgents under Aguinaldo, who have become aggressive and even threatening toward our army." Here is revealed the spirit of the insurgents as early as July, 1898, before the protocol was signed, while we were still engaged in active war with Spain. Even then the insurgents were threatening our army.

On August 13 Manila was captured, and of this and subsequent events the Philippine Commission says: "When the city of Manila was taken, August 13, the Filipinos took no part in the attack, but came following in with a view to looting the city, and were only prevented from doing so by our forces preventing them from entering. Aguinaldo claimed that he had the right to occupy the city; he demanded of Gen. Merritt the palace of Malacanan for himself and the cession of all churches of Manila, also that a part of the money taken from the Spaniards as spoils of war should be given up, and above all that he should be given the arms of the Spanish prisoners. All these demands were refused.

Gens. Merritt, Greene, and Anderson, who were in command at the beginning of our occupation and until the surrender of Manila, state that there was no alliance with the insurgents and no promise to them of independence. On August 17, 1898, Gen. Merritt was instructed that there must be no joint occupation of Manila with the insurgents. Gen. Anderson, under date of February 10, 1900, says that he was present at the interview between Admiral Dewey and the insurgent leader, and that in this interview Admiral Dewey made no promise whatever. He adds: "He (Aguinaldo) asked me if my government was going to recognize his government. I answered that I was there simply in a military capacity; that I could not acknowledge his government because I had no authority to do so."

Would not our adversaries have sent Dewey's fleet to Manila to capture and destroy the Spanish sea power there, or, dispatching it there, would they have withdrawn it after the destruction of the Spanish fleet; and if the latter, whither would they have directed it to sail? Where could it have gone? What port in the Orient was opened to it? Do our adversaries condemn the expedition under the command of Gen. Merritt to strengthen Dewey in the distant ocean and assist in our triumph over Spain, with which nation we were at war? Was it not our highest duty to strike Spain at every vulnerable point, that the war might be successfully concluded at the earliest practicable moment?

And was it not our duty to protect the lives and property of those who came within our control by the fortunes of war? Could we have come away at any time between May 1, 1898, and the conclusion of peace, without a stain upon our good name? Could we have come away without dishonor at any time after the ratification of the peace treaty by the Senate of the United States?

There has been no time since the destruction of the enemy's fleet when we could or should have left the Philippine archipelago. After the treaty of peace was ratified no power but Congress could surrender our sovereignty or alienate a foot of the territory thus acquired. The Congress has not seen fit to do the one or the other, and the President had no authority to do either, if he had been so inclined, which he was not. So long as the sovereignty remains in us it is the duty of the Executive, whoever he may be, to uphold that sovereignty, and if it be attacked to suppress its assailants. Would our political adversaries do less?

It has been asserted that there would have been no fighting in the Philippines if Congress had declared its purpose to give independence to the Tagal insurgents. The insurgents did not wait for the action of Congress. They assumed the offensive, they opened fire on our army. Those who assert our responsibility for the beginning of the conflict have forgotten that before the treaty was ratified in the Senate and while it was being debated in that body, and while the Bacon resolution was under discussion, on February 4, 1899, the insurgents attacked the American army, after being previously advised that the American forces were under orders not to fire upon them except in defense. The papers found in the recently captured archives of the insurgents demonstrate that this attack had been carefully planned for weeks before it occurred. Their unprovoked assault upon our soldiers at a time when the Senate was deliberating upon the treaty shows that no action on our part except surrender and abandonment would have prevented the fighting, and leaves no doubt in any fair mind of where the responsibility rests for the shedding of American blood.

With all the exaggerated phrase-making of this electoral contest, we are in danger of being diverted from the real contention.

We are in agreement with all of those who supported the war with Spain, and also with those who counseled the ratification of the treaty of peace. Upon these two great essential steps there can be no issue, and out of these came all of our responsibilities. If others would shirk the obligations imposed by the war and the treaty, we must decline to act further with them, and here the issue is made. It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants and to prepare them for self-government, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it and as rapidly as they are ready for it. That I am aiming to do under my constitutional authority, and will continue to do until Congress shall determine the political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

Are our opponents against the treaty? If so, they must be reminded that it could not have been ratified in the Senate but for their assistance. The Senate which ratified the treaty and the Congress which added its sanction by a large appropriation comprised Senators and Representatives of the people of all parties.

Would our opponents surrender to the insurgents, abandon our sovereignty, or cede it to them? If that be not their purpose, then it should be

promptly disclaimed, for only evil can result from the hopes raised by our opponents in the minds of the Filipinos, that with their success at the polls in November there will be a withdrawal of our army and of American sovereignty over the archipelago; the complete independence of the Tagalog people recognized, and the powers of government over all the peoples of the archipelago conferred upon the Tagalog leaders.

The effect of a belief in the minds of the insurgents that this will be done has already prolonged the rebellion, and increases the necessity for the continuance of a large army. It is now delaying full peace in the archipelago and the establishment of civil governments, and has influenced many of the insurgents against accepting the liberal terms of amnesty offered by Gen. MacArthur under my direction. But for these false hopes, a considerable reduction could have been had in our military establishment in the Philippines and the realization of a stable government would be already at hand.

The American people are asked by our opponents to yield the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines to a small fraction of the population, a single tribe out of eighty or more inhabiting the archipelago, a faction which wantonly attacked the American troops in Manila while in rightful possession under the protocol with Spain, awaiting the ratification of the treaty of peace by the Senate, and which has since been in active, open rebellion against the United States. We are asked to transfer our sovereignty to a small minority in the islands without consulting the majority and to abandon the largest portion of the population, which has been loyal to us, to the cruelties of the guerrilla insurgent bands. More than this, we are asked to protect this minority in establishing a government, and to this end repress all opposition of the majority. We are required to set up a stable government in the interest of those who have assailed our sovereignty and fired upon our soldiers, and then maintain it at any cost or sacrifice against its enemies within and against those having ambitious designs from without.

This would require an army and navy far larger than is now maintained in the Philippines, and still more in excess of what will be necessary with the full recognition of our sovereignty. A military support of authority not our own as thus proposed is the very essence of militarism, which our opponents in their platform oppose, but which, by their policy, would of necessity be established in its most offensive form.

The American people will not make the murderers of our soldiers the agents of the republic to convey the blessings of liberty and order to the Philippines. They will not make them the builders of the new commonwealth. Such a course would be a betrayal of our sacred obligations to the peaceful Filipinos, and would place at the mercy of dangerous adventurers the lives and property of the natives and foreigners. It would make possible and easy the commission of such atrocities as were secretly planned, to be executed on the 22d of February, 1899, in the city of Manila, when

only the vigilance of our army prevented the attempt to assassinate our soldiers and all foreigners and pillage and destroy the city and its surroundings.

In short, the proposition of those opposed to us is to continue all the obligations in the Philippines which now rest upon the government, only changing the relation from principal, which now exists, to that of surety. Our responsibility is to remain, but our power is to be diminished. Our obligation is to be no less, but our title is to be surrendered to another power, which is without experience or training or the ability to maintain a stable government at home and absolutely helpless to perform its international obligations with the rest of the world. To this we are opposed. We should not yield our title while our obligations last. In the language of our platform, "Our authority should not be less than our responsibility," and our present responsibility is to establish our authority in every part of the islands.

No government can so certainly preserve the peace, restore public order, establish law, justice, and stable conditions as ours. Neither Congress nor the Executive can establish a stable government in these islands except under our right of sovereignty, our authority, and our flag. And this we are doing.

We could not do it as a protectorate power so completely or so successfully as we are doing it now. As the sovereign power we can initiate action and shape means to ends, and guide the Filipinos to self-development and self-government. As a protectorate power we could not initiate action, but would be compelled to follow and uphold a people with no capacity yet to go alone. In the one case we can protect both ourselves and the Filipinos from being involved in dangerous complications; in the other we could not protect even the Filipinos until after their trouble had come. Besides, if we cannot establish any government of our own without the consent of the governed, as our opponents contend, then we could not establish a stable government for them or make ours a protectorate without the like consent, and neither the majority of the people nor a minority of the people have invited us to assume it. We could not maintain a protectorate even with the consent of the governed without giving provocation for conflicts and possibly costly wars. Our rights in the Philippines are now free from outside interference, and will continue so in our present relation. They would not be thus free in any other relation. We will not give up our own to guarantee another sovereignty.

Our title is good. Our peace commissioners believed they were receiving a good title when they concluded the treaty. The Executive believed it was a good title when he submitted it to the Senate of the United States for its ratification. The Senate believed it was a good title when they gave it their constitutional assent, and the Congress seems not to have doubted its completeness when they appropriated \$20,000,000 provided by the treaty. If any who favored its ratification believed it gave us a bad title, they were not sincere. Our title is practically identical with that under which we hold

our territory acquired since the beginning of the government, and under which we have exercised full sovereignty and established government for the inhabitants.

It is worthy of note that no one outside of the United States disputes the fullness and integrity of the cession. What, then, is the real issue on this subject? Whether it is paramount to any other or not, it is whether we shall be responsible for the government of the Philippines with the sovereignty and authority which enable us to guide them to regulated liberty, law, safety, and progress, or whether we shall be responsible for the forcible and arbitrary government of a minority without sovereignty and authority on our part, and with only the embarrassment of a protectorate which draws us into their troubles without the power of preventing them.

There were those who two years ago were rushing us on to war with Spain who are unwilling now to accept its clear consequence, as there are those among us who advocated the ratification of the treaty of peace, but now protest against its obligations. Nations which go to war must be prepared to accept its resultant obligations, and when they make treaties must keep them.

Those who profess to distrust the liberal and honorable purposes of the administration in its treatment of the Philippines are not justified. Imperialism has no place in its creed or conduct. Freedom is the rock upon which the Republican party was builded and now rests. Liberty is the great Republican doctrine for which the people went to war and for which a million lives were offered and billions of dollars expended to make it the lawful legacy of all without the consent of master or slave. There is a strain of ill-concealed hypocrisy in the anxiety to extend the constitutional guaranties to the people of the Philippines, while their nullification is openly advocated at home. Our opponents may distrust themselves, but they have no right to discredit the good faith and patriotism of the majority of the people who are opposed to them; they may fear the worst form of imperialism with the helpless Filipinos in their hands; but if they do, it is because they have parted with the spirit and faith of the fathers, and have lost the virility of the founders of the party which they profess to represent.

The Republican party does not have to assert its devotion to the Declaration of Independence. That immortal instrument of the fathers remained unexecuted until the people, under the lead of the Republican party, in the awful clash of battle turned its promises into fulfillment. It wrote into the Constitution the amendments guaranteeing political equality to American citizenship, and it has never broken them or counseled others in breaking them. It will not be guided in its conduct by one set of principles at home and another set in the new territory belonging to the United States.

If our opponents would only practice as well as preach the doctrines of Abraham Lincoln, there would be no fear for the safety of our institutions at home or their influence in any territory over which our flag floats.

Empire has been expelled from Porto Rico and the Philippines by Ameri-

can freedom. The flag of the republic now floats over these islands as an emblem of rightful sovereignty. Will the republic stay and dispense to their inhabitants the blessings of liberty, education, and free institutions, or steal away, leaving them to anarchy or imperialism?

The American question is between duty and desertion—the American verdict will be for duty and against desertion, for the republic against both anarchy and imperialism.

The country has been fully advised of the purposes of the United States in China, and they will be faithfully adhered to, as already defined.

The nation is filled with gratitude that the little band, among them many of our own blood, who for two months have been subjected to privation and peril by the attacks of pitiless hordes at the Chinese capital, exhibiting supreme courage in the face of despair, have been enabled by God's favor to greet their rescuers and find shelter under their own flag.

The people, not alone of this land, but of all lands, have watched and prayed through the terrible stress and protracted agony of the helpless sufferers in Peking, and while at times the dark tidings seemed to make all hope vain, the rescuers never faltered in the heroic fulfillment of their noble task.

We are grateful to our own soldiers and sailors and marines, and to all the brave men who, though assembled under many standards representing peoples and races, strangers in country and speech, were yet united in the sacred mission of carrying succor to the besieged, with a success that is now the cause of a world's rejoicing.

Not only have we reason for thanksgiving for our material blessings, but we should rejoice in the complete unification of the people of all sections of our country, that has so happily developed in the last few years, and made for us a more perfect Union. The obliteration of old differences, the common devotion to the flag, and the common sacrifices for its honor, so conspicuously shown by the men of the North and South in the Spanish war, have so strengthened the ties of friendship and mutual respect that nothing can ever again divide us. The nation faces the new century gratefully and hopefully, with increasing love of country, with firm faith in its free institutions, and with high resolve that they "shall not perish from the earth."

Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION—PROSPERITY
UNPARALLELED—THE DANGER OF FREE COINAGE OF
SILVER THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE—TRUSTS—REMEDIES BY
STATE AND NATIONAL LEGISLATION—THE PHILIPPINES
AND LOUISIANA—MCKINLEY AND JEFFERSON COMPARED
—IMPERIALISM AND EXPANSION.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., Sept. 15, 1900.

"To Hon. Edward O. Wolcott, Chairman Committee on Notification of
Vice-President:

"SIR:—I accept the nomination as Vice-President of the United States, tendered me by the Republican National Convention, with a very deep sense of the honor conferred upon me and with an infinitely deeper sense of the vital importance to the whole country of securing the re-election of President McKinley. The nation's welfare is at stake. We must continue the work which has been so well begun during the present Administration. We must show in fashion incapable of being misunderstood that the American people, at the beginning of the twentieth century, face their duties in a calm and serious spirit; that they have no intention of permitting folly or lawlessness to mar the extraordinary material well-being which they have attained at home, nor yet of permitting their flag to be dishonored abroad.

"I feel that this contest is by no means one merely between Republicans and Democrats. We have a right to appeal to all good citizens who are far-sighted enough to see what the honor and the interest of the nation demand. To put into practice the principles embodied in the Kansas City platform would mean disaster to the nation; for that platform stands for reaction and disorder; for an upsetting of our financial system which would mean not only great suffering, but the abandonment of the nation's good faith, and for a policy abroad which would imply the dishonor of the flag and an unworthy surrender of our national rights. Its success would mean unspeakable humiliation to men proud of their country, jealous of their country's good name and desirous of securing the welfare of their fellow-citizens. Therefore we have a right to appeal to all good men, North and South, East and West, whatever their politics may have been in the past, to stand with us, because we stand for the prosperity of the country and for the renown of the American flag.

"The most important of all problems is, of course, that of securing good

government and moral and material well-being within our own borders. Great though the need is that the nation should do its work well abroad, even this comes second to the thorough performance of duty at home.

"Under the Administration of President McKinley this country has been blessed with a degree of prosperity absolutely unparalleled, even in its previous prosperous history. While it is, of course, true that no legislation and no administration can bring success to those who are not stout of heart, cool of head and ready of hand, yet it is no less true that the individual capacity of each man to get good results for himself can be absolutely destroyed by bad legislation or bad administration, while under the reverse conditions the power of the individual to do good work is assured and stimulated.

"This is what has been done under the Administration of President McKinley. Thanks to his actions and to the wise legislation of Congress on the tariff and finance, the conditions of our industrial life have been rendered more favorable than ever before, and they have been taken advantage of to the full by American thrift, industry and enterprise. Order has been observed, the courts upheld and the fullest liberty secured to all citizens. The merchant and manufacturer, but, above all, the farmer and the wage-worker, have profited by this state of things.

"Fundamentally and primarily the present contest is a contest for the continuance of the conditions which have told in favor of our material welfare and of our civil and political integrity. If this nation is to retain either its well-being or its self-respect it cannot afford to plunge into financial and economic chaos; it cannot afford to indorse governmental theories which would unsettle the standard of national honesty and destroy the integrity of our system of justice.

"The policy of the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 is a policy fraught with destruction to every home in the land. It means untold misery to the head of every household, and, above all, to the women and children of every home. When our opponents champion free silver at 16 to 1 they are either insincere or sincere in their attitude. If insincere in their championship they, of course, forfeit all right to belief or support on any ground. If sincere, then they are a menace to the welfare of the country. Whether they shout their sinister purpose or merely whisper it makes but little difference, save as it reflects their own honesty.

"No issue can be paramount to the issue they thus make, for the paramountcy of such an issue is to be determined not by the dictum of any man or body of men, but by the fact that it vitally affects the well-being of every home in the land. The financial question is always of such far-reaching and tremendous importance to the national welfare that it can never be raised in good faith unless this tremendous importance is not merely conceded but insisted upon. Men who are not willing to make such an issue paramount have no possible justification for raising it at all, for under such circumstances their act cannot under any conceivable circumstances do aught but grave harm.

"The success of the party representing the principles embodied in the Kansas City platform would bring about the destruction of all the conditions necessary to the continuance of our prosperity. It would also unsettle our whole governmental system, and would therefore disarrange all the vast and delicate machinery of our complex industrial life. Above all, the effect would be ruinous to our finances. If we are to prosper, the currency of this country must be based upon the gold dollar worth one hundred cents.

"The stability of our currency has been greatly increased by the excellent financial act passed by the last Congress. But no law can secure our finances against the effect of unwise and disastrous management in the hands of unfriendly administrators. No party can safely be intrusted with the management of our national affairs unless it accepts as axiomatic the truths recognized in all progressive countries as essential to a sound and proper system of finance. In their essence these must be the same for all great civilized peoples. In different stages of development different countries face varying economic conditions, but at every stage and under all circumstances the most important element in securing their economic well-being is sound finance, honest money. So intimate is the connection between industrial prosperity and a sound currency that the former is jeopardized not merely by unsound finance, but by the very threat of unsound finance.

"The business man and the farmer are vitally interested in this question, but no man's interest is so great as that of the wage-worker. A depreciated currency means loss and disaster to the business man, but it means grim suffering to the wage-worker. The capitalist will lose much of his capital and will suffer wearing anxiety and the loss of many comforts, but the wage-worker who loses his wages must suffer and see his wife and children suffer for the actual necessities of life. The one absolutely vital need of our whole industrial system is sound money.

"One of the serious problems with which we are confronted under the conditions of our modern industrial civilization is that presented by the great business combinations, which are generally known under the name of trusts. The problem is an exceedingly difficult one. The difficulty is immensely aggravated both by honest but wrong-headed attacks on our whole industrial system in the effort to remove some of the evils connected with it and by the mischievous advice of men who either think crookedly or who advance remedies knowing them to be ineffective, but deeming that they may, by darkening counsel, achieve for themselves a spurious reputation for wisdom. No good whatever is subserved by indiscriminate denunciation of corporations generally, and of all forms of industrial combination in particular; and when this public denunciation is accompanied by private membership in the great corporations denounced, the effect is, of course, to give an air of insincerity to the whole movement. Nevertheless, there are real abuses, and there is ample reason for striving to remedy these abuses. A

crude or ill-considered effort to remedy them would either be absolutely without effect or else would simply do damage.

"The first thing to do is to find out the facts; and for this purpose publicity as to capitalization, profits and all else of importance to the public is the most useful measure. The mere fact of this publicity would in itself remedy certain evils, and, as to others, it would in some cases point out the remedies, and would at least enable us to tell whether or not certain proposed remedies would be useful. The State acting in its collective capacity would thus first find out the facts and then be able to take such measures as wisdom dictated.

"Much can be done by taxation. Even more can be done by regulation, by close supervision, and the unsparing excision of all unhealthy, destructive and anti-social elements. The separate State governments can do a great deal; and where they decline to co-operate the National Government must step in.

"While paying heed to the necessity of keeping our house in order at home, the American people can not, if they wish to retain their self-respect, refrain from doing their duty as a great nation in the world. The history of the nation is in large part the history of the nation's expansion. When the first Continental Congress met in Liberty Hall and the thirteen original States declared themselves a nation, the westward limit of the country was marked by the Alleghany Mountains. Even during the Revolutionary War the work of expansion went on. Kentucky, Tennessee and the great Northwest, then known as the Illinois country, were conquered from our white and Indian foes during the Revolutionary struggle and were confirmed to us by the treaty of peace in 1783. Yet the land thus confirmed was not then given to us. It was held by an alien foe until the army, under General Anthony Wayne, freed Ohio from the red man, while the treaties of Jay and Pinckney secured from the Spanish and British Natchez and Detroit.

"In 1803, under President Jefferson, the greatest single stride in expansion that we ever took was taken by the purchase of the Louisiana territory. This so-called Louisiana, which included what are now the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Idaho, Montana, and a large part of Colorado and Utah, was acquired by treaty and purchase under President Jefferson exactly and precisely as the Philippines have been acquired by treaty and purchase under President McKinley.

"The doctrine of 'the consent of the governed,' the doctrine previously enunciated by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, was not held by him or by any other sane man to apply to the Indian tribes in the Louisiana territory which he thus acquired, and there was no vote taken even of the white inhabitants, not to speak of the negroes and Indians, as to whether they were willing that their territory should be annexed. The great majority of the inhabitants, white and colored alike, were bitterly opposed to the transfer. An armed force of United States soldiers had to be hastily sent

into the territory to prevent insurrection, President Jefferson sending these troops to Louisiana for exactly the same reasons and with exactly the same purpose that President McKinley has sent troops to the Philippines. Jefferson distinctly stated that the Louisianians were 'not fit or ready for self-government,' and years elapsed before they were given self-government, Jefferson appointing the Governor and other officials without any consultation with the inhabitants of the newly acquired territory. The doctrine that the 'Constitution follows the flag' was not then even considered either by Jefferson or by any other serious party leader, for it never entered their heads that a new territory should be governed other than in the way in which the territories of Ohio and Illinois had already been governed under Washington and the elder Adams; the theory known by this utterly false and misleading phrase was only struck out in political controversy at a much later date, for the sole purpose of justifying the extension of slavery into the territories.

"The parallel between what Jefferson did with Louisiana and what is now being done in the Philippines is exact. Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and of the 'consent of the governed' doctrine, saw no incongruity between this and the establishment of a government on common-sense grounds in the new territory; and he railed at the sticklers for an impossible application of his principle, saying, in language which at the present day applies to the situation in the Philippines without the change of a word, 'though it is acknowledged that our new fellow-citizens are as yet as incapable of self-government as children, yet some can not bring themselves to suspend its principles for a single moment.' He intended that ultimately self-government should be introduced throughout the territory, but only as the different parts became fit for it, and no sooner.

"This is just the policy that has been pursued. In no part of the Louisiana purchase was complete self-government introduced for a number of years; in one part of it, the Indian Territory, it has not yet been introduced, although nearly a century has elapsed. Over enormous tracts of it, including the various Indian reservations, with a territory in the aggregate as large as that of the Philippines, the Constitution has never yet 'followed the flag;' the army officers and the civilian agent still exercise authority, without asking the 'consent of the governed.' We must proceed in the Philippines with the same wise caution, taking each successive step as it becomes desirable, and accommodating the details of our policy to the peculiar needs of the situation. But as soon as the present revolt is put down and order established, it will undoubtedly be possible to give to the islands a larger measure of self-government than Jefferson originally gave Louisiana.

"The next great step in expansion was the acquisition of Florida. This was partly acquired by conquest and partly by purchase, Andrew Jackson being the most prominent figure in the acquisition. It was taken under President Monroe, the after-time President John Quincy Adams being active in securing the purchase.

"As in the case of the Philippines, Florida was acquired by purchase

from Spain, and in Florida the Seminoles, who had not been consulted in the sale, rebelled and waged war exactly as some of the Tagals have rebelled and waged war in the Philippines. The Seminole War lasted for many years, but Presidents Monroe, Adams and Jackson declined for a moment to consider the question of abandoning Florida to the Seminoles, or to treat their non-consent to the government of the United States as a valid reason for turning over the territory to them.

"Our next question of territory was that of Texas, secured by treaty after it had been wrested from the Mexicans by the Texans themselves. Then came the acquisition of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada and parts of Colorado and Utah as the result of the Mexican War, supplemented five years later by the Gadsden purchase.

"The next acquisition was that of Alaska, secured from Russia by treaty and purchase. Alaska was full of natives, some of whom had advanced well beyond the stage of savagery and were Christians. They were not consulted about the purchase nor was their acquiescence required. The purchase was made by the men who had just put through a triumphant war to restore the Union and free the slave; but none of them deemed it necessary to push the doctrine of the 'consent of the governed' to a conclusion so fantastic as to necessitate the turning over of Alaska to its original owners, the Indian and the Aleut. For 30 years the United States authorities, military and civil, exercised the supreme authority in a tract of land many times larger than the Philippines, in which it did not seem likely that there would ever be any considerable body of white inhabitants.

"Nearly 30 years passed before the next instance of expansion occurred, which was over the Island of Hawaii. An effort was made at the end of President Harrison's administration to secure the annexation of Hawaii. The effort was unsuccessful. In a debate in Congress on February 2, 1894, one of the leaders in opposing the annexation of the islands stated:

" 'These islands are more than 2,000 miles distant from our extreme western boundary. We have a serious race problem now in our country and I am not in favor of adding to our domestic fabric a mongrel population (of this character). Our Constitution makes no provisions for a colonial establishment. Any territorial government we might establish would necessarily, because of the population, be an oligarchy, which would have to be supported by armed soldiers.'

"Yet Hawaii has now been annexed and here delegates have sat in the national conventions of the two great parties. The fears then expressed in relation to an 'oligarchy' and 'armed soldiers' are not now seriously entertained by any human being; yet they are precisely the objections urged against the acquisition of the Philippines at this very moment.

"We are making no new departures. We are not taking a single step which in any way affects our institutions or our traditional policies. From the beginning we have given widely varying degrees of self-government to the different territories, according to their needs.

"The simple truth is that there is nothing even remotely resembling 'imperialism' or 'militarism' involved in the present development of that policy of expansion which has been part of the history of America from the day when she became a nation. The words mean absolutely nothing as applied to our present policy in the Philippines; for this policy is only imperialistic in the sense that Jefferson's policy in Louisiana was imperialistic; only military in the sense that Jackson's policy toward the Seminoles or Custer's policy toward the Sioux embodied militarism; and there is no more danger of its producing evil results at home now than there was of its interfering with freedom under Jefferson or Jackson, or in the days of the Indian wars on the plains. Our army is relatively not as large as it was in the days of Wayne; we have not one regular for every 1,000 inhabitants. There is no more danger of a draft than there is of the reintroduction of slavery.

"When we expanded over New Mexico and California we secured free government to these territories and prevented their falling under the 'militarism' of a dictatorship like that of Santa Anna, or the 'imperialism' of a real empire in the days of Maximilian. We put a stop to imperialism in Mexico as soon as the Civil War closed.

"We made a great anti-imperialistic stride when we drove the Spaniards from Porto Rico and the Philippines and thereby made ready ground in these islands for that gradually increasing measure of self-government for which their populations are severally fitted. Cuba is being helped along the path to independence as rapidly as her own citizens are content that she should go. Of course the presence of troops in the Philippines during the Tagal insurrection has no more to do with militarism or imperialism than had their presence in the Dakotas, Minnesota and Wyoming during the many years which elapsed before the final outbreaks of the Sioux were definitely put down. There is no more militarism or imperialism in garrisoning Luzon until order is restored than there was imperialism in sending soldiers to South Dakota in 1890, during the Ogallalla outbreak. The reasoning which justifies our having made war against Sitting Bull also justifies our having checked the outbreaks of Aguinaldo and his followers, directed, as they were, against Filipino and American alike.

"The only certain way of rendering it necessary for our Republic to enter on a career of militarism would be to abandon the Philippines to their own tribes, and at the same time either to guarantee a stable government among these tribes or to guarantee them against outside interference. A far larger army would be required to carry out any such policy than will be required to secure order under the American flag; while the presence of this flag on the islands is really the only possible security against outside aggression.

"The whole argument against President McKinley's policy in the Philippines becomes absurd when it is conceded that we should, to quote the language of the Kansas City platform, give to the Philippines first a stable form of government. If they are now entitled to independence, they are also entitled to decide for themselves whether their government shall be stable or unstable, civilized or savage, or whether they shall have any gov-

ernment at all; while it is, of course, equally evident that under such conditions we have no right whatever to guarantee them against outside interference any more than we have to make such a guarantee in the case of the Boxers (who are merely the Chinese analogues of Aguinaldo's followers). If we have a right to establish a stable government in the islands it necessarily follows that it is not only our right but duty to support that government until the natives gradually grow fit to sustain it themselves. How else will it be stable? The minute we leave it it ceases to be stable.

"Properly speaking, the question is now not whether we shall expand—for we have already expanded—but whether we shall contract. The Philippines are now part of American territory. To surrender them would be to surrender American territory.

"They must, of course, be governed primarily in the interests of their own citizens. Our first care must be for the people of the islands which have come under our guardianship as a result of the most righteous foreign war that has been waged within the memory of the present generation. They must be administered in the interests of their inhabitants, and that necessarily means that any question of personal or partisan politics in their administration must be entirely eliminated. We must continue to put at the heads of affairs in the different islands such men as General Wood, Governor Allen and Judge Taft; and it is a most fortunate thing that we are able to illustrate what ought to be done in the way of sending officers thither by pointing out what actually has been done.

"The minor places in their administration, where it is impossible to fill them by natives, must be filled by the strictest application of the merit system. It is very important that in our own home administration the merely ministerial and administrative offices, where the duties are entirely non-political, shall be filled absolutely without reference to partisan affiliations; but this is many times more important in the newly acquired islands. The merit system is in its essence as democratic as our common school system, for it simply means equal chances and fair play for all.

"It must be remembered always that governing these islands in the interest of the inhabitants may not necessarily be to govern them as the inhabitants at the moment prefer. To grant self-government to Luzon under Aguinaldo would be like granting self-government to an Apache reservation under some local chief; and this is no more altered by the fact that the Filipinos fought the Spaniards than it would be by the fact that Apaches have long been trained and employed in the United States Army and have rendered signal service therein; just as the Pawnees did under the administration of Gen. Grant; just as the Stockbridge Indians did in the days of General Washington, and the friendly tribes of the Six Nations in the days of President Madison.

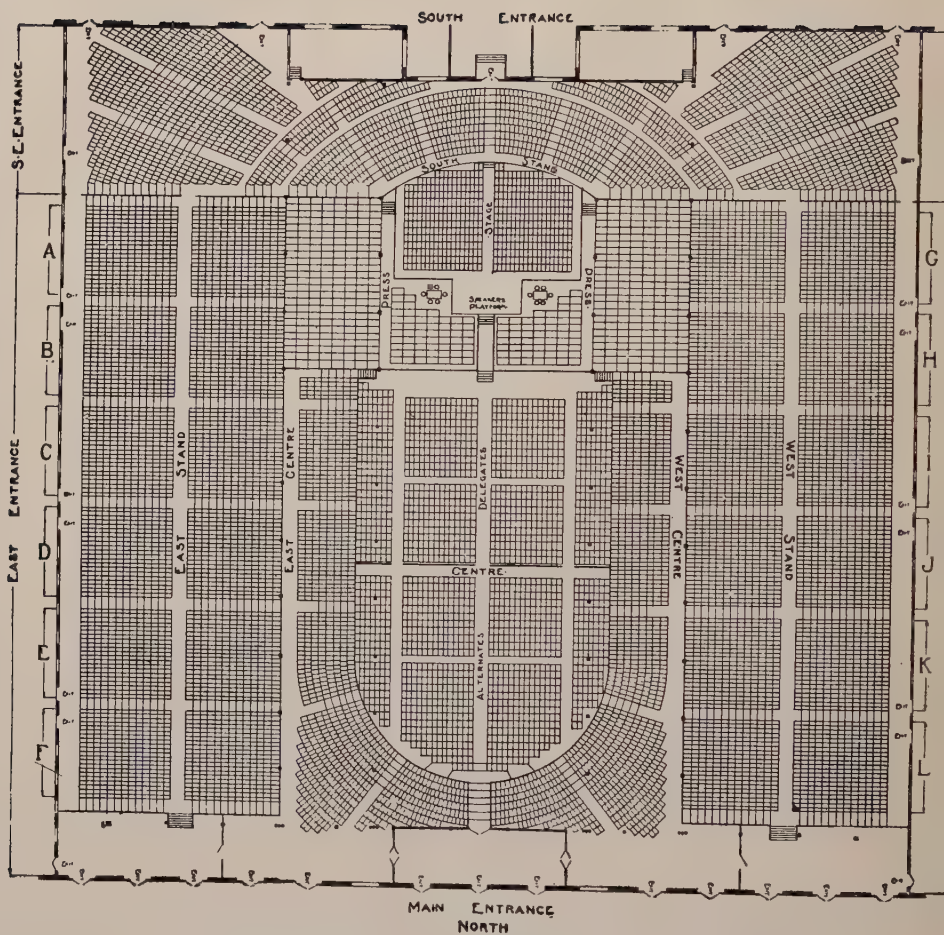
"There are now in the United States communities of Indians which have advanced so far that it has just been possible to embody them as a whole in our political system, all the members of the tribe becoming United States citizens. There are other communities where the bulk of the tribes are

still too wild for it to be possible to take such a step. There are individuals among the Apaches, Pawnees, Iroquois, Sioux and other tribes who are now United States citizens, and who are entitled to stand, and do stand, on an absolute equality with all our citizens of pure white blood. Men of Indian blood are now serving in the army and navy and in Congress and occupy high positions both in the business and the political world.

"There is every reason why as rapidly as an Indian, or any body of Indians, becomes fit for self-government, he or it should be granted the fullest equality with the whites; but there would be no justification whatever in treating this fact as a reason for abandoning the wild tribes to work out their own destruction. Exactly the same reasoning applies in the case of the Philippines. To turn over the islands to Aguinaldo and his followers would not be to give self-government to the islanders; under no circumstances would the majority thus gain self-government. They would simply be put at the mercy of a syndicate of Chinese half-breeds, under whom corruption would flourish far more freely than ever it flourished under Tweed, while tyrannical oppression would obtain to a degree only possible under such an oligarchy.

Yours truly,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."



CONVENTION HALL. (Showing Plan of Stage and Seats.)

APPENDIX

THE PRESS

The following newspapers were represented and made telegraphic special daily reports of the proceedings of the Convention and had seats assigned to them in the press department.

ALABAMA.

MobileThe Register.
BirminghamThe Age Herald.

ARKANSAS.

Little RockThe Gazette.

ARIZONA.

PhoenixThe Arizona Republican
Daily News.
PhoenixThe Herald.
PhoenixThe Arizona Gazette.

CALIFORNIA.

San Francisco....The Evening Post.
San Francisco....The Examiner.
San Francisco....The Chronicle.
San Francisco....The Call.
San Francisco....The Bulletin.
Los Angeles....The Herald.
Los Angeles....The Times.
SacramentoThe Daily Bee.

COLORADO.

DenverThe Rocky Mtn. News.
DenverThe Republican.

CONNECTICUT.

HartfordThe Courant.
HartfordThe Globe.
HartfordThe Telegram.
HartfordThe Post.
HartfordThe Times.
New Haven.....The Paladian.
New Haven.....The Register.
WaterburyThe American.

DELAWARE.

WilmingtonThe Sun.
WilmingtonThe Evening Journal.
WilmingtonThe Morning News.
WilmingtonThe Every Evening.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WashingtonThe Evening Star.
WashingtonThe Post.
WashingtonThe Times.

GEORGIA.

AtlantaThe Journal.
AtlantaThe Constitution.
AugustaThe Chronicle.
SavannahThe News.
MaconThe Telegraph.

ILLINOIS.

ChicagoThe Journal.
ChicagoThe Daily News.
ChicagoThe Evening Post.
ChicagoThe Chronicle.
ChicagoThe Record.
ChicagoThe Times-Herald.
ChicagoThe Inter-Ocean.
ChicagoThe Tribune.
ChicagoThe Staats-Zeitung.

INDIANA.

IndianapolisThe Journal.
IndianapolisThe News.
IndianapolisThe Sentinel.
IndianapolisThe Press.
EvansvilleThe Journal.
Terre Haute....The Evening Gazette.

IOWA.

BurlingtonThe Hawk Eye.
DavenportThe Times.
DubuqueThe Herald.
Des MoinesThe Register.
Des MoinesThe Leader.
Des MoinesThe News.

KANSAS.

AtchisonThe Globe.
LeavenworthThe Times.
TopekaThe Capital.
TopekaThe Journal.

KENTUCKY.

CovingtonThe Kentucky Post.
FrankfortThe Zeitung.
LouisvilleThe Courier Journal.
LouisvilleThe Dispatch.
LouisvilleThe Evening Post.
LouisvilleThe Commercial.
LouisvilleThe Times.

LOUISIANA.

New Orleans.....The Picayune.
 New Orleans.....The Democrat.
 New Orleans.....The Item.
 New Orleans.....The Press.
 New Orleans.....The States.

MARYLAND.

BaltimoreThe Morning Herald.
 BaltimoreThe Sun.
 BaltimoreThe American.
 BaltimoreDer Deutsche Corresp't.
 BaltimoreThe News.
 BaltimoreThe World.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BostonThe Record.
 BostonThe Journal.
 BostonThe Post.
 BostonThe Herald.
 BostonThe Daily Advertiser.
 BostonThe Transcript.
 BostonThe Globe.
 BostonThe Traveller.
 ConcordThe Monitor.
 SpringfieldThe Union.
 SpringfieldThe Republican.
 WorcesterThe Spy.

MISSISSIPPI.

VicksburgThe Herald.

MICHIGAN.

DetroitThe Morning Tribune.
 DetroitThe Evening News.
 DetroitThe Journal.
 DetroitThe Free Press.
 DetroitThe Abend Post.
 Grand Rapids.....The Herald.
 KalamazooThe Telegraph.

MINNESOTA.

MinneapolisThe Times.
 MinneapolisThe Tribune.
 MinneapolisThe Journal.
 St. PaulThe Dispatch.
 St. PaulThe Pioneer Press.
 St. PaulThe Globe.
 DuluthThe Duluth News Trib'e.

MISSOURI.

St. LouisThe Globe Democrat.
 St. LouisThe Republic.
 St. LouisThe Post Dispatch.
 St. LouisThe Westliche Post.
 St. LouisThe Chronicle.
 St. LouisThe Star.
 Kansas CityThe World.
 Kansas CityThe Journal.
 Kansas CityThe Star.
 Kansas CityThe Times Co.

MONTANA.

HelenaThe Herald.

NEBRASKA.

LincolnThe Journal.
 OmahaThe Bee.
 OmahaThe World-Herald.

NEVADA.

RenoThe Gazette Pub. Co.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

ConcordThe Monitor.
 ManchesterThe Union.

NEW JERSEY.

ElizabethThe Journal.
 NewarkThe Daily Advertiser.
 NewarkThe Evening News.
 Jersey City.....The News.
 Jersey City.....The Journal.
 CamdenThe Post-Telegram.
 CamdenThe Daily Courier.
 TrentonThe Daily State Gazette.
 TrentonThe True American.

NEW YORK.

New YorkThe Sun.
 New YorkThe Commercial Adv.
 New YorkThe Mail and Express.
 New YorkThe World.
 New YorkThe Morning Journal.
 New YorkThe Evening Journal.
 New YorkThe Herald.
 New YorkThe Tribune.
 New YorkThe Staats-Zeitung.
 New YorkThe Times.
 New YorkThe Evening Post.
 New YorkThe Morning Telegraph.
 New YorkThe Evening Telegram.
 New YorkThe Publishers Press.
 New YorkThe Press.
 New YorkThe News.
 AlbanyThe Argus.
 AlbanyThe Journal.
 AlbanyPress Knickerb'k's Exp.
 AlbanyThe Times Union.
 BrooklynThe Daily News.
 BrooklynThe Times.
 BrooklynThe Times.
 BrooklynThe Citizen.
 BrooklynThe Standard Union.
 BuffaloThe Buffalo Express.
 BuffaloThe Times.
 BuffaloThe Commercial.
 BuffaloThe Courier.
 BuffaloThe Enquirer.
 BuffaloThe Evening News.
 UticaThe Press.
 UticaThe Observer.
 RochesterThe Evening Times.
 RochesterThe Post Express.
 RochesterThe Herald.
 SyracuseThe Herald.
 SyracuseThe Journal Ptg. & Pub. Co.
 SyracuseThe Post-Standard Co.
 TroyThe Times.
 TroyThe Press.
 TroyThe Record.

OHIO.

AkronThe Beacon Journal.
 CantonThe Repository Ptg. Co.
 CincinnatiThe Enquirer.
 CincinnatiThe Times Star.
 CincinnatiThe Post.
 CincinnatiThe Commec'l Tribune.
 CincinnatiThe Cincin'ti Volksblatt.
 ClevelandThe Leader.
 ClevelandThe Press.
 ClevelandThe Plain Dealer.
 ColumbusThe Dispatch.
 ColumbusThe Press Post.
 ColumbusThe State Journal.
 DaytonThe Journal.

OHIO—Continued.

Sandusky	The Register.
Toledo	The Toledo Blade.
Toledo	The Times.
Toledo	The Bee.
Toledo	The Commercial.
Warren	The Tribune.
Warren	The Chronicle.

OREGON.

Portland	The Morning Oregonian.
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PENNSYLVANIA.

Philadelphia	The Star.
Philadelphia	The Daily News.
Philadelphia	The Item.
Philadelphia	The Associated Press.
Philadelphia	The Inquirer.
Philadelphia	The North American.
Philadelphia	The Telegraph.
Philadelphia	The Times.
Philadelphia	The Press.
Philadelphia	The Record.
Philadelphia	The Evening Herald.
Philadelphia	The Bulletin.
Philadelphia	The Ledger.
Philadelphia	The Democrat.
Philadelphia	The Gazette.
Philadelphia	The Tageblatt.
Philadelphia	The Abend Post.
Philadelphia	The Call.
Altoona	The Times.
Easton	The Argus.
Harrisburg	The Telegraph.
Harrisburg	The Patriot.
Harrisburg	The Independent.
Lancaster	The New Era.
Lancaster	The Examiner.
Lancaster	The Inquirer.
Lancaster	The News.
Oil City	The Derrick.
Oil City	The Blizzard.
Pittsburg	The Times.
Pittsburg	The Daily News.
Pittsburg	The Dispatch.
Pittsburg	The Post.
Pittsburg	The Leader.
Pittsburg	The Chronicle Teleg'h.
Pittsburg	The Press.
Pittsburg	The Commercial.
Pottsville	The Daily Republican.
Pottsville	The Chronicle.
Reading	The Times.
Reading	The Journal.
Reading	The Republican.
Reading	The Herald.
Reading	The Eagle.
Scranton	The Tribune.
Scranton	The Republican.
Scranton	The Truth.
Scranton	The Times.
West Chester.....	The Republican.
Williamsport	The Sun.
Wilkes-Barre	The Times.
Wilkes-Barre	The Record.
York	The Dispatch.

RHODE ISLAND.

Providence	The Journal.
Providence	The Telegram.
Providence	The News.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Charleston	The News Courier.
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TEXAS.

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Galveston	The News.
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Houston	The Post.

TENNESSEE.

Memphis	The Commercial Appeal.
Chattanooga	The Times.
Nashville	The American.

UTAH.

Salt Lake City...	The Tribune.
Salt Lake City...	The Herald.

VIRGINIA.

Richmond	The Times.
Richmond	The Dispatch.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Wheeling	The Intelligencer.
Wheeling	The Register.
Wheeling	The News.
Wheeling	The Zeitung.

WASHINGTON.

Seattle	The Post Intelligencer.
Seattle	The Times.
Tacoma	The Tacoma Ev'g News.
Tacoma	The Ledger.

WISCONSIN.

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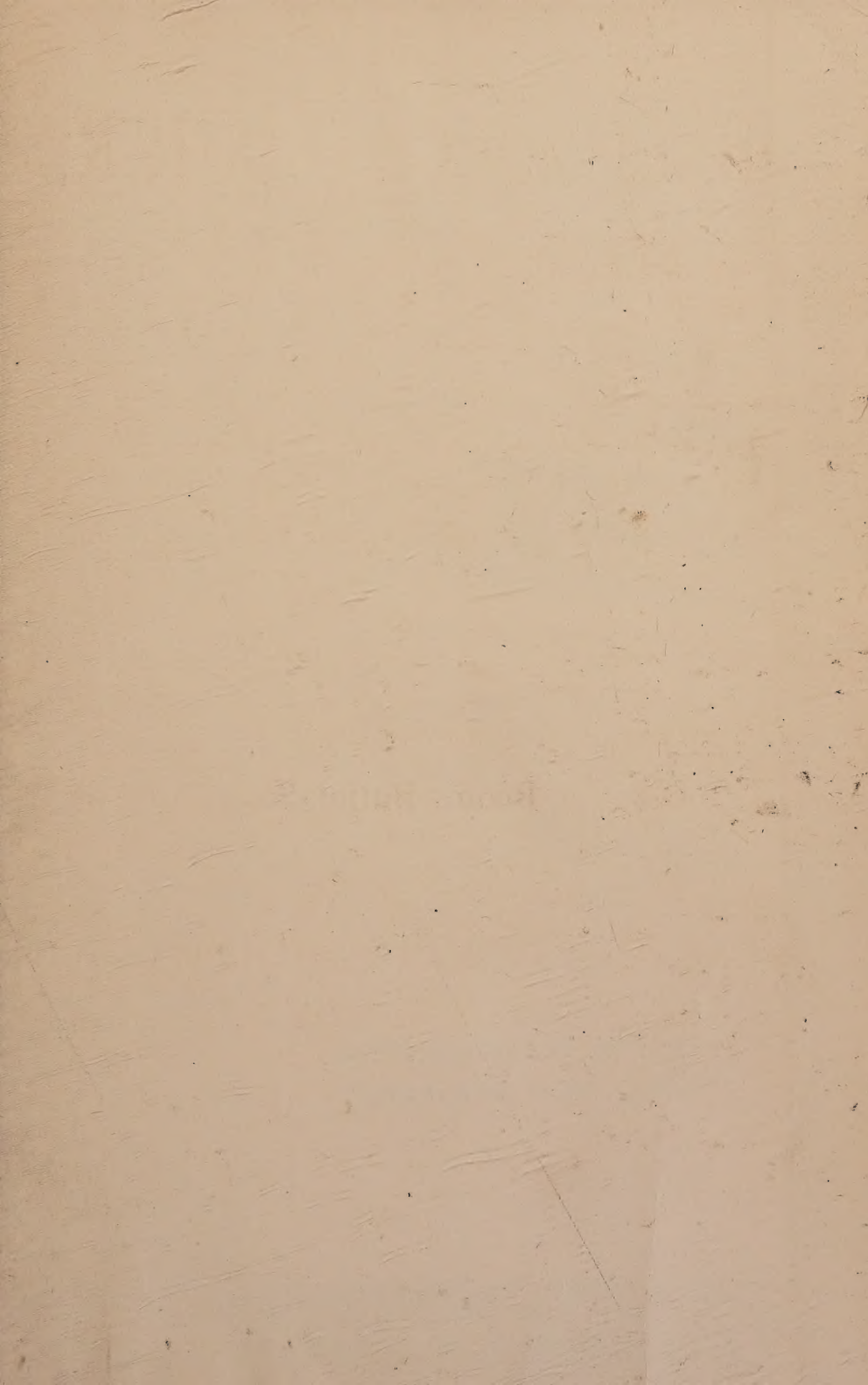
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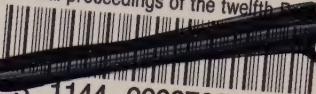
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